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Teachers'

Handbook on Peace

and Security


Canadian Institute for
International Peace and Security



Teachers' Handbook on Peace and Security



Canadian Institute for
International Peace and Security



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PREFACE

The teaching of issues of international peace and security at the high school level has suffered in Canada from two disadvantages: it is often concerned more with American than Canadian examples, and it is enormously difficult to keep up to date. The *Teachers' Handbook on Peace and Security* is an attempt to solve these two problems by discussing the Canadian experience, and by presenting the information in a way which will allow for easy revision.

Every attempt has been made to ensure the accuracy of the materials in the *Handbook* while keeping in mind the time constraints of the classroom, and the various levels of exposure young students have likely had to issues of international peace and security. As international events emerge and change, it is our intent to make new and revised readings and exercises available in order to make the *Handbook* relevant to a changing world. It will be the classroom experience of teachers and students which will serve as the measure of success of this endeavour.

Bernard Wood
Chief Executive Officer
Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security

PREFACE

The teaching of peace in international peace and security in the high school level has suffered in Canada from two disadvantages. First, it is often considered a subject with American than Canadian examples, and it is commonly difficult to keep up to date. The Teacher's Handbook on Peace and Security is an attempt to solve these two problems by distilling the Canadian experience and by presenting the information in a way which will allow for easy revision.

Every attempt has been made to ensure the accuracy of the material in this Handbook while keeping in mind the time constraints of the classroom and the necessity for of separate young students have used it in order to learn the international peace and security. An international security change and change. It is an attempt to make the revised material and content available in order to make the Handbook relevant to a changing world. It will be the classroom teacher's responsibility to decide which will serve as the source of source of this Handbook.

Barbara Wood
Chief Executive Officer
Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security

TEACHERS' HANDBOOK ON PEACE AND SECURITY: RATIONALE AND GOALS

The *Handbook* was written in response to requests made to the Institute to address the question of teaching issues of international peace and security in the classroom. The mandate of the Institute from the Parliament of Canada, directs it to

increase knowledge and understanding of the issues relating to international peace and security from a Canadian perspective, with particular emphasis on arms control, disarmament, defence and conflict resolution,

as well as "collect and disseminate information on, and encourage public discussion of issues of international peace and security." The *Handbook* represents a specific Institute effort to apply its mandate to high school students and teachers.

The *Handbook* is not a textbook, nor is it a complete examination of all the aspects, theories, incidents in history, or perspectives on international relations. This is beyond the purview of both the high school classroom and the Institute's mandate. This should not suggest, however, that issues not covered in the *Handbook* are unimportant. Neither should it suggest that other issues and themes in the field of international peace and security cannot be tied into the *Handbook*. The content of the *Handbook* is merely a recognition of the limits of the Institute's mandate and expertise, as well as the judgment of the authors as to what is manageable in the classroom.

The *Handbook's* presentation of international peace and security issues is largely state-centric. This reflects the authors' conviction that while international relations is a complex and multi-faceted study, the core of such a study remains the state. Particularly for the beginner, the state presents the most powerful entry point to the study of international relations.

While not a textbook, the *Handbook* is more appropriately described as a smorgasbord of strategies, readings, activities and other resources which can be used as the teacher sees fit in a way that best serves his or her classroom style and programme. The *Handbook* has been written with a junior high school class in mind, with the hope that this will make it relevant to as great a number of students as possible. The *Handbook* seeks to present a foundation of knowledge to students which will help them to make sense of the flow of information on international peace and security issues to which they have ready access. To do this, the *Handbook* stresses concepts, and is organized into three broad concepts: foreign policy, security, and international conflict. Each of these is supported by lessons and strategies for the teacher's use, and readings and resources for both student and teacher. This approach is designed to satisfy the following aims:

- * to develop skills that will help students to evaluate peace and security options, and to relate these to their own lives;

- * to help students understand Canadian policies on major issues with regards to peace and security; and,
- * to encourage students to play an active role in the on-going debate about peace and security options for Canada and the world at large.

The first draft of the *Handbook* was written over the summer of 1987. Its principal authors were Bradley Feasey of the Institute staff and Geoff Irvine, a high school teacher with the Carleton Board of Education. Emily Atkins, a summer student with the Institute, assisted with the writing and the research. Stephen Priestly drew the original maps and diagrams.

Between the summer of 1987 and 1989, the *Handbook* was distributed at various conferences and professional development days in order to gauge the response of teachers to the document. The Institute also assembled a team of field testers to field test the document in a more formal way. The field testers systematically put the draft to use in their classrooms and their experience and advice has been crucial to the shape of the final version. The Institute's sincere thanks are extended to: Paul Gray, Parry Sound High School, Parry Sound, Ontario; John Martin, Southwood Secondary School, Cambridge, Ontario; Garfield Newman, Dr. G.W. Williams Secondary School, Aurora, Ontario; Gary O'Dwyer, St. Mary's Roman Catholic Secondary School, Cobourg, Ontario; Jane Reid, Sir Wilfrid Laurier Secondary School, Ottawa, Ontario; and, Ruthanne Wrobel, Havergal College, Toronto, Ontario.

During the summer of 1989, revisions to the *Handbook* were undertaken by Bradley Feasey, Geoff Irvine, Garfield Newman, and Mariellen Chisholm, a summer student with the Institute.

In November 1989, the Institute consulted with two Quebec teachers and an official from the Quebec Ministry of Education on the *Handbook's* suitability for that jurisdiction. It was decided that a French translation, rather than a reworking of the *Handbook* was the best course of action. This translation is currently under way.

TEACHER EVALUATION/FEEDBACK

If the *Teachers' Handbook on Peace and Security* is to continue to be useful and relevant to classroom teachers, we need your feedback. Your professional opinion will help us make needed changes and revisions over time. Please take a moment to let us know what you think. Send your comments to, or call:

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1. What specific improvements would you suggest for the *Handbook* (things to be added/deleted)? Why?

2. How does the *Handbook* compare with other resources that you have used on the topic of peace and security (i.e. textbooks/teacher's guides, Board curriculum materials, materials generated by other organizations)?

3. Do you have a strategy or idea that would work well in one of the lessons found in the *Handbook*? (We'll gladly acknowledge your contribution should we pick up on your idea!)

4. Are there any particular case studies or issues (which the *Handbook* has not already presented) which you think would enhance your students' understanding of the concepts covered in the *Handbook*?

5. Name: _____
- School: _____
- Address: _____
- Telephone: _____ When is a good time to call? _____

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SELECTING AND USING THE MATERIALS IN THE *TEACHERS' HANDBOOK ON PEACE AND SECURITY*

1. Teachers may wish to select only the activities from the lesson plans and the items from the appendices that will enhance lessons they have already developed.
2. Teachers may wish to make use of the sequence of lessons suggested in the document (motivational, developmental, application and extension--see the diagram below). This sequence takes into account the research that has been carried out in the field of learning styles. The object is to include a balance of each of these four types of activities in a unit or course.

A Suggested Sequence of Activities:

Motivational Activities

- * group activities related to the concept to be taught that draw on what students already know, or have experienced (simulations, brainstorming, problem-solving).
- * debriefing the group activity.

Developmental Activities

- * activities that explicitly teach the concept.
- * students formulate and solidify the concept under study (readings, lectures, films, inductive and deductive reasoning given discrete examples of the concept).

Application Activities

- * activities that allow students to practice and apply their understanding of the new concept (drills, task sheets, identifying examples of the concept from case studies, stating a personal opinion).

Extension Activities

- * activities that allow students to see the broader implications of the concept.
- * activities that allow students to take a new concept and to use it in a creative manner with a problem or issue that is of personal interest (research, major project).
- * presentation and evaluation of student products by peers, teacher, outside experts or interested parties.

WHY TEACH CONCEPTS?

Research indicates that students do not retain the bulk of the discrete facts that they try to memorize in school. The question remains then, what does one teach that will be of long-term use to the student?

Concepts organize a host of discrete facts under a category that has similar characteristics or qualities. Concepts can then be combined to form generalizations. This gives concepts analytical and predictive value that extends far beyond the specific facts themselves.

For example, NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization are examples of the concept of alliances. As such, they are similar in some ways. When the concepts of alliance and conflict are combined, it may be possible to draw some useful generalizations about how alliances function in conflict situations.

Concepts can also help to understand how unfamiliar events might turn out. For example, Case X involves a Canadian foreign policy decision in a situation of conflict. If the student knows the characteristics of the concept of foreign policy, especially as they pertain to conflict, he or she may be able to draw a conclusion as to how Canada might react in a particular situation.

Thus, concepts are more useful tools for future understanding and reasoning than simply the memorization of facts. For this reason, this document has been developed to teach particular concepts in international relations.

EVALUATING STUDENT LEARNING

Formative and Summative Evaluation

The **application activities** in this Handbook provide a variety of opportunities for both teachers and students to assess the degree of student mastery of the concepts taught. Case studies can be used to challenge the ability of students to recognize the concept in a practical and real context. Other activities are suggested which require students to reach personal conclusions about issues or problems that relate to the concept under investigation.

After students have completed one of these application activities, the teacher should conduct a thorough debriefing. Students need to know if their initial perception and processing of information related to the concept has been correct. This feedback will identify remedial needs for the teacher. It will also provide the students with a useful measure of their success in achieving mastery of the concepts.

The **extension activities** also provide an opportunity for formal evaluation. These activities often call on students to do in-depth research and then to communicate their findings to others. Clearly, these products must be evaluated if the students are to receive vital feedback on their efforts.

Evaluation Tools

As a further aid to evaluation, the Teacher Resources section of this document contains some samples of evaluation forms and techniques. The items are by no means inclusive. They have either been created by the authors of the *Handbook* or reprinted from existing curriculum documents produced by school boards. Teachers with an interest in learning more about the useful approaches developed in these documents should contact the boards of education involved.

NOTES ON THE USE OF SPECIAL ACTIVITIES AND GAMES

Both simulations and analogies can be very powerful ways to get students to consider concepts in advance of any formal instruction. As such they draw upon the student's immediate experience or, in the absence of this, they provide a new experience to which the student can react. They provide unique opportunities for students to explore patterns in their own lives and to recognize the connections between these patterns and the concepts that will be taught later in the lesson or unit. Thus, they are a good way to motivate students.

There are a few things to consider regarding the use of such activities:

- 1) The teacher should have a clear view of what concepts s/he wants to teach in the long-run. Foreshadow these with the simulation or analogy. Be prepared to alter the simulation or analogies to meet these objectives.
- 2) Wherever possible, have students work in groups at some point during these activities. This enhances motivation and also allows for a free comparison of experience or reaction.
- 3) Students will sometimes ask a great many questions or request more information about the situation than you have provided. At this time, avoid teaching the knowledge that is really the focus of later activities. Instead, respond by directing students' attention back to the information provided for by the activity or to aspects of the students' own personal experience which may be relevant.
- 4) Always conduct a thorough debriefing:
 - a) Ask students to verbalize about key things that happened or observations they made.
 - b) Next, lead them to recognize any patterns that exist in these occurrences or observations. Are there any important problems or issues that emerge?
 - c) Students should also be asked to make critical comparisons between the occurrences or observations made during the lesson and the real world (How like or unlike the real world of international relations is the experience you have just gone through?) Encourage them to describe examples to illustrate these key similarities and differences.
 - d) Lastly, students should be asked to suggest reasons why learning more about the insights they have acquired so far might be important. The teacher should also express why s/he thinks the ideas are important to teach.

- 5) Be prepared to come back to the patterns, insights, problems or issues raised during these activities over and over again. It may be that new facts presented later in the lesson or unit support or contradict earlier student perceptions. Clearly, this should be brought to the students' attention and discussed.

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TOPIC:

Introducing Foreign Policy

CONCEPT(S):

Foreign Policy

ACTIVITY TYPE:

Motivational

OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will come to realize that Canada's relationship with other states plays an integral part in their daily lives.
2. Students will understand that states, like individuals, have to make decisions about dealing with others that are by no means clear cut and without risk.

RESOURCES:

- * Appendix #A1: A worksheet for drawing up an inventory list for items found in the home and their country of origin.
- * Appendix #A2: A map of an imaginary world and descriptions of the aspects of each country in that world organized under categories. (This appendix could also be used to introduce other concepts such as the goals and instruments of foreign policy and instruments for dealing with international conflict. It could also serve as the basis for a more ambitious simulation game in international relations in which students negotiate and sign treaties.)
- * Appendix #A3: The views of five fictional Canadians about things they think that Canada ought to be doing in the international sphere, and a worksheet.
- * Appendix #A4: Some suggestions for the teacher as to how to alter each of the descriptions in Appendix #A3 to allow for a range of possible outcomes.

STRATEGY:

- * Shopping around the world

Using Appendix #A1, students prepare a list of items found in their homes and list their country of origin and approximate cost. Students are then asked to prepare a shopping list of items they would purchase for their homes if they had \$1,000 to spend. Having prepared their shopping list, the teacher could present the students with the following dilemma: Canada, in an attempt to promote a buy-Canadian policy, has imposed high tariffs on imported goods causing all imports to double in price. Considering this action, how would students revise their shopping list? This should be

followed by a class discussion on how Canadian government policy vis-a-vis other countries has a direct impact on their daily lives.

As an alternative to this exercise, teachers may wish to present a specific scenario such as a rapid rise of oil prices resulting from an international event such as the formation of OPEC, or a conflict in the Middle East. Students would then be asked to speculate on the impact of such an occurrence on their daily lives by taking into account:

- i) the impact of high gasoline and oil prices on their lives directly;
- ii) the impact of higher oil prices on Canadian industry; and,
- iii) the impact of higher oil prices on by-products of oil such as plastics.

* Imaginary World

1. Put students into groups to consider the imaginary world shown in Appendix #A2. Assign each group a country to represent. Have them go through some or all of the following orientation activities:

- i) Have them develop a flag, crest and/or motto for their assigned country.
- ii) Explain that they are the External Affairs Department of their country. Have them:

- * List the problems they think their country/the imaginary world will face. Have them rank order these problems.
- * List those who they see as likely allies. Why?
- * List the countries with which they will likely have difficulty getting along. Why?
- * List their national goals.
- * Develop a list of recommendations for their government to follow in its relations with other nations.

The teacher may wish to invent a scenario to which the students can react. For example, Country A could send a note to Country B that they are about to attack unless some territory is handed over. Given this crisis, the entire imaginary world must react in some way. Each group and then the whole class could discuss the following:

- i) In what ways does/could the crisis affect us?
- ii) What options for action are open to us? How do we decide between these options? Which is the best option? Why?
- iii) What factors influence our decision? Which are the most important factors? Why?
- iv) In what ways is this simulation like/unlike the real world? Why?

* In My Opinion...

Appendix #A3 can be used in three different ways to get students to think about the decisions that Canada ought to make when dealing with other states. It also raises the point that individual Canadians can benefit or be harmed by foreign policy decisions.

- i) Hand out Appendix #A3 and the accompanying worksheet. Students individually and/or in pairs complete the worksheet. Each case is then discussed by the class as a whole to focus on the key points discussed above.

OR

- ii) Teachers could hand out the alternative reactions to each situation as suggested in Appendix #A4. Students in groups consider which of the reactions (including the one suggested by the original description) they would have had if they had been the person in each case. Why? Groups could be combined to compare answers and reach a consensus. The activity should be thoroughly debriefed.

OR

- iii) Chose one of the situations to work with. Edit the situation to avoid presenting too much about the actual outcome or the personal feelings of the actors. Put students into groups. The number of students in each group will depend on the number of people who were affected by the foreign policy decision illustrated by the selected case. For example, the case of Brian Wagner might result in groups of five (Brian Wagner, government ministers, the employees of the company, the foreign company which lost the sale, the company owners). Regroup the students according to their role (i.e. all the "Brian Wagners" will meet as a group for a period of time; each of the other roles will do likewise). These groups develop a reaction to the situation from their perspective. They then return to their original, mixed-role groups to explain their positions and try to reach a consensus on the best course of action. Each group then presents its conclusions to the class for comparison and analysis.

TOPIC:

What is Foreign Policy? Formulating and Solidifying the Concept.

CONCEPT(S):

Foreign Policy

ACTIVITY TYPE:

Developmental

OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will develop tentative opinions regarding Canada's international role in reaction to photographs of specific international events.
2. Students will understand that states must make difficult decisions about the nature and degree of their involvement in the world.
3. Students will know the definition of the concept of foreign policy and be able to recognize examples of the concept given specific actions.

RESOURCES:

- * Appendix #A5: A collage of photographs of international events.
- * Appendix #A6: A definition of foreign policy that can be reproduced on an overhead or on the board for use in the lesson.

STRATEGY:

- * Collage
1. Hand out Appendix #A5. Have students in groups consider such questions as:
 - a) How do you react to what you see in the photographs? Why?
 - b) How do you think the people involved in each of these events feels?
 - c) What, if anything, do you think could be done about what you see in each of the photographs?
 - d) Should Canada do something about what you see in each of the pictures? If not, why not? If so, what? Is Canada doing something already?
 2. Take up student answers.
 3. Students could be asked to collect headlines and photographs that relate to international events. They could create quick collages to serve as a focus for teaching and discussion.

* Teaching the Definition: Deductive Approach

1. Use Appendix #A6 reproduced as an overhead or on the board. Go over the definition with the students, carefully defining and illustrating any new vocabulary.
2. Using recent copies of a daily newspaper, students, working in pairs, create a collage of photographs and headlines they believe reflect "foreign policy". Once complete, student pairs could combine with a second pair. Each pair within the new group would then present and justify their headlines/photos as examples of "foreign policy" by identifying how the example is part of a plan of action and showing that the event is an international one. Once this task is complete, the group would select the four best examples of foreign policy the whole group had discussed and would present them to the class for validation.
3. The teacher may want to offer some examples of policies that do not fit the category of foreign policy (i.e. domestic policies) to see if students can differentiate between examples and non-examples of the concept.

* Teaching the Definition: Inductive Approach

1. The teacher gathers a selection of current headlines. Some should be good examples of foreign policy, some should clearly not be examples of foreign policy. The teacher tells the students that s/he is thinking of a category title and that they must try to determine what this is; that they are going to be shown examples of the title; that to direct their thinking they will also be shown examples that do not fit the title. Present these one at a time to the students beginning with one that does fit the category title (i.e "foreign policy"). Follow this with an example that does not fit the category, and so on.
2. Collect student observations for each example. As new examples appear, students modify the list of observations, crossing out ones that no longer apply.
3. Continue this procedure until they have seen all the examples and have arrived at a final list of observations which apply to all the examples that fit the category. In this case, the list might include:
 - i) things that involve governments rather than individual citizens or private organizations;
 - ii) things that involve relations between states or issues affecting more than one states; and,
 - iii) things that involve developing or carrying out a plan or course of action.

4. Ask students to review whether or not the list which remains applies to all the examples that fit into the category and to explain why. If there is one exception they must modify the list so that all the observations apply to the positive exemplars.
5. The teacher now gives the final list of observations the concept heading "foreign policy". Students write this as a heading in their notebooks and list the common observations beneath it as the definitive characteristic of the concept.

TOPIC:

Practising and Applying the Concept of Foreign Policy

CONCEPT(S):

Foreign Policy

ACTIVITY TYPE:

Application

OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will master and apply the concept of foreign policy through activities that permit practice, reinforcement and personalization.

RESOURCES:

- * Appendix #A7: Three (3) case studies of international events in which Canada was involved. (These cases could also be used to practice and apply the concepts of goals and instruments of foreign policy.)
- * Appendix #A8: A list of actions that governments can take, both domestic and foreign.
- * Appendix #A9: A listing of useful names and addresses that could be contacted by students regarding international affairs.
- * Appendix #C9: Tips on Writing Letters to Embassies.
- * Appendix #D10: Tips on Letter Writing.

STRATEGY:

- * Case Studies
1. The teacher selects two of the three case studies found in Appendix #A7. Put students into Home Groups of four. Split the students into pairs, with one pair taking the perspective of the government, and the other pair taking the perspective of a critic of the government. One pair (Critic, Government) takes Case 1, and the other pair (Critic, Government) takes Case 2. The pairs will look like the following: (C1, G1) and (C2, G2).
 2. Create two Expert Groups on each of the case studies; one representing the government, and the other its critics--the experts in the Expert Groups are drawn from the government representatives from the Home Groups, and the critic representatives from the Home Groups. (Should the Expert Groups exceed five students, becoming unwieldy, they should be split so as to maintain an effective number in the groups). Those representing the government will work within their Expert Group and research and prepare a defence of the foreign policy action

relative to their specific case study. The critics will work within their Expert Group and will prepare a list of criticisms and alternatives specific to their case study. All groups must clearly identify the foreign policy action in each case before proceeding.

3. Students return to their Home Groups. Each pair (i.e. government representative, and critic who studied the same case) teach their case study to the government representative and critic who studied the second case. The purpose is to highlight their respective positions on the issue.
4. Having discussed in some detail both case studies, the Home Group should respond to the following questions:
 - i) Are the actions of the government in these cases similar in any way? If so, how?
 - ii) Are the actions of the government in these cases different? If so, how?
 - iii) Did the Canadian government act wisely in these cases? Why? Why not?
 - iv) Should Canada follow policies of a similar nature in the future? Why? Why not?
5. The teacher may wish to conclude with a brief class discussion in which a class consensus is formulated on the foreign policy in each case. The questions listed above can be used to work towards this consensus.

* A Newspaper Collection

Have students collect examples from various news media that illustrate various degrees of government involvement in international affairs. Students could determine the kind of emphasis that the actors seem to have chosen. They could then try to justify their decision to a group of other students or in a short written assignment.

* Letter Writing

Using Appendix #A9 the students could be asked to select a current international event or issue of personal interest and write letters to various people to get their views on the issue or event. If necessary, the teacher can refer to Appendices #C9 and #D10 for tips on letter writing.

* Distinguishing Exemplars and Non-Exemplars

Appendix #A8 provides a list of actions that students can try to classify as either examples or non-examples of the concept of foreign policy.

TOPIC:

Factors Influencing Foreign Policy

CONCEPT(S):

Foreign Policy

ACTIVITY TYPE:

Developmental

OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will know that a state's national characteristics must be taken into account when establishing foreign policy.
2. Students will recognize that the national characteristics which influence the foreign policy of a specific state can be classified into categories that are common to all countries.

RESOURCES:

- * Appendix #A2: A map of an imaginary world and descriptions of aspects of each country in that world organized under categories.
- * Appendix #A10: A reading on foreign policy and the factors which influence it.

STRATEGY:

- * An Imaginary World
1. Put students into groups to consider the imaginary world shown in Appendix #A2. Assign each group a country to represent. Explain that they are the External Affairs Department of their country and that they will have to develop a foreign policy for the country. The teacher may wish to invent a scenario to which students can react. For example, Country A could send a note to Country B that they are about to attack unless some territory is handed over. Given this crisis, the entire imaginary world must react in some way. They could discuss the following:
 - a) What do you know about your own country that would influence the way that you choose to deal with other countries in the world?
 - b) List these influences and then rank order them from the most important to the least important influence on your decisions.
 - c) With your rank ordering of influences in mind, how will you deal with other countries in the world? Why?

- d) Given the characteristics of your country, is there anything that you would avoid doing when dealing with the other countries in the world? Why?
2. Discuss student answers. At an appropriate point, show them a wall map of Canada. Ask them to speculate on how the nature of Canada might influence the way that Canada chooses to deal with other countries. Use the categories of national characteristics (i.e. geography, population, economy etc.) to structure this discussion.

* Reading: Factors Influencing Foreign Policy

Appendix #A10 will familiarize students with the various factors influencing a state's foreign policy decision-making. To introduce this reading, students could be presented with the scenario below. They could discuss first in pairs what they would do, followed by a general class discussion which focuses on the factors that influenced their decisions.

"Imagine you are the Prime Minister of a small country with a large population. Your country is quite poor and, in order to survive, depends on the foreign aid given to it by a neighbouring state. Your people are peaceful and since your government is democratically elected, you must consider their wishes when making policy.

Your powerful neighbour comes to you and demands that his country be allowed to establish a military base in your country. This base will be used to threaten military action against a third country. If you do not allow this base to be established, your neighbour will stop sending you foreign aid and your people will suffer.

What do you do? What influences your decision?"

The students could then use the reading Appendix #A10 to collect information about Canada under the heading of each of the categories of influences. They could also be asked to examine a current example of a foreign policy decision that Canada has made and try to identify the factors which influenced the decision.

TOPIC:

Introduction: Goals of Foreign Policy

CONCEPT(S):

Foreign Policy

ACTIVITY TYPE:

Developmental

OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will understand the meaning of six foreign policy goals.
2. Students will recognize that the selection of foreign policy goals depends on priorities that can change.

RESOURCES:

- * Appendix #A11: Reading which lists six foreign policy goals and a definition of each goal.
- * Appendix #A12: Worksheet for students to do a rank-ordering of foreign policy goals.

STRATEGY:

1. Hand out copies of Appendices #A11 and #A12 to each student. Discuss and clarify the meaning of each of the possible goals.
2. Either individually or in groups, have the students do a rank ordering of the six goals. They should rank them from the most important goal to the least important goal (1-6). Once students have completed the ranking, they should carefully explain the reasons for their choices.
3. Conduct a poll of the student rankings on the board or overhead. Discuss the results of the poll to identify patterns and to seek explanations for them.
4. Suggestions for further discussion:
 - a) Do you think the goals of all states are the same? Why? Why not?
 - b) What factors do you think the foreign policy goals of a country depend on? What effect would each of these factors have?
 - c) Suppose you were the Prime Minister of Canada and this poll gave you the opinions of a large number of Canadian citizens--would you do exactly as they wished? If so, what kinds of things would you do in order to follow their wishes?
 - d) If you would not do as they wished, what would you do instead? Why?
 - e) In your view, who ought to set the goals for the foreign policy of a country?

TOPIC:

Practising and Applying Knowledge about Goals of Foreign Policy.

CONCEPT(S):

Foreign Policy

ACTIVITY TYPE:

Application

OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will master and apply knowledge about the goals of foreign policy through activities that permit practice, reinforcement and personalization.

RESOURCES:

- * Appendix #A2: Description and map of an imaginary world.
- * Appendix #A5: Photo collage.
- * Appendix #A13: An exercise in identifying the goals of foreign policy.
- * Appendix #A14: Three (3) case studies of foreign policy for classification and an accompanying worksheet.

STRATEGY:

- * Imaginary World

Students could refer to the imaginary world described in Appendix #A2. They should describe how they think each of the countries ought to rank order their goals of foreign policy.

- * Classifying Photographs

Hand out Appendix #A5 and ask students to assume that they could do something about what they see in each of the photographs. Have them determine a course of action and then classify it by the goal of their foreign policy.

- * Identifying Goals of Foreign Policy

Hand out Appendix #A13. Ask students to consider each of the ten (10) actions to determine what goal of foreign policy Canada was pursuing in each case.

* Working with Case Studies

Hand out Appendix #A14. This presents three (3) brief case studies of Canadian foreign policy and an accompanying worksheet for analysis.

* Make a Puzzle

Students could be asked to create a crossword puzzle (or another format) that the rest of the class could use to learn about foreign policy. It can be interesting to try to use pictures as some of the clues.

* Print-Media Scavenger Hunt

Students could be asked to collect at least five (5) items from a variety of sources that they think illustrate at least three different goals of foreign policy. These could be mounted on bristol board and presented to other students in a group. Each student would present each item and explain what goal(s) the example illustrates. The other group members then validate the student's analysis of the goals. Items for which there is no consensus can be referred to the teacher who can then facilitate the group's analysis of the disputed item.

TOPIC:

Introduction: Instruments of Foreign Policy

CONCEPT(S):

Foreign Policy

ACTIVITY TYPE:

Motivational

OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will realize that their experiences in reaching personal goals involve the use of specific methods (instruments). These methods are frequently dictated by the nature of the situation and the selected goal.

RESOURCES:

- * Appendix #A15: A scenario and list of possible methods of reaching a specific goal.

STRATEGY:

1. Hand a copy of Appendix #A15 to each of the students. In groups, have the students rank the actions they might take in order to accomplish the goal in the scenario.
2. Some suggested debriefing questions for the whole class:
 - a) What ranking did you give each of the actions? Why?
 - b) How could you group the possible actions you could have taken? Why this way? Is any one type of action better than another in trying to reach a goal? Upon what factors does your answer depend?
 - c) Is violence acceptable as a method or tool for reaching a goal that is important to you? If so, under what circumstances. If not, why not? What would you use instead of violence?
 - d) What do you think of someone who always resorts to violence or threats in order to get things done?
 - e) What do you think of someone who is never aggressive?
 - f) Countries, like people, have goals that they want to achieve. They too have a list of possible tools that they can use to achieve these goals. Suggest examples of tools or instruments that countries can use. List these and briefly discuss how and when such instruments might best be used?
 - g) In what ways are countries' choices for action similar to the choices for action in the cases you have just studied? In what ways are these actions different?

TOPIC:

What are the Instruments of Foreign Policy?

CONCEPT(S):

Foreign Policy

ACTIVITY TYPE:

Developmental

OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will understand the meaning of the foreign policy instruments commonly employed by countries to achieve foreign policy goals.

RESOURCES:

- * Appendix #A5: Photo and headline collage of various military and non-military instruments of foreign policy.
- * Appendix #A16: Reading on Foreign Policy Instruments.

STRATEGY:

- * Collage

Students are assigned groups and given a copy of the collage (Appendix #A5). Explain that these are all examples of some of the tools or methods which countries can use to carry out their foreign policy. They should discuss and note their answers to some or all of the following questions in their notebooks:

- a) What is happening in each of the events in the collage?
- b) Imagine that you are one of the people in each of the photographs. What do you think of what you are doing? Why?
- c) In what ways could the events in the collage be grouped? Why did you choose the groupings you did?
- d) In your view, when should each of the methods that you see in the collage be used? Under what circumstances should they not be used? Why?
- e) Which method do you think Canada uses most often? What leads you to think this?
- f) What methods or tools do you think Canada should use? Why? What tools would you not recommend that Canada use? Why?

- * Reading

Hand out Appendix #A16. This provides information about the instruments that states have at their disposal to carry out their foreign policy.

TOPIC:

Practising and Applying Knowledge of Foreign Policy Instruments.

CONCEPT(S):

Foreign Policy

ACTIVITY TYPE:

Application

OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will master and apply their knowledge of foreign policy instruments through activities that permit practice, reinforcement and personalization.

RESOURCES:

- * Appendix #A5: Photo collage of foreign policy instruments.
- * Appendix #A17: Three (3) case studies illustrating the use of a different foreign policy instrument, and a worksheet to assist in their analysis.

STRATEGY:

- * Writing a Personal Letter or Diary Entry

Have students refer to the collage (Appendix #A5). Ask them to put themselves in the place of one of the persons in the photographs. Ask them to write a diary entry, letter to a friend or family member describing what they are doing in the picture and how they feel about it.

- * Working with Case Studies

Appendix #A17 provides students with a series of short case studies from which they can identify the specific foreign policy instrument being used. A worksheet is provided in order to aid in the analysis of each case.

A Jigsaw I approach could also be used here (see Appendix #D1, page 315 for a fuller description of this technique.) This would involve assigning each "Home Group" member a different case study. "Experts" would then read their assigned case study, determine the instruments involved, and develop a sound defence of their choices. They would then return to their Home Groups to cross-teach what they know about the case study and present their choice of instruments. The rest of the Home Group would then validate their presentation.

A Jigsaw II approach (see Appendix #D1) is also possible with a single case study (for example, one of the cases in Appendix #A17, or a current international event selected by the teacher and/or students.) The teacher/students determine who the key actors were/are in the case. This determines the number of students in each Home Group. The students in each Home Group are assigned different actors. Those in the class representing the same actor meet as Expert Groups to develop an opinion as to whether or not the appropriate instrument was/is being used under the circumstances, and what alternatives were/are available. They return to their Home Group to present their opinions. The other members of the group react to these. The Home Group (consisting of the mix of experts) can try to reach a consensus or the experts can return to their groups to compare the feedback they got to their proposal and to modify it if they see fit. Each Expert Group would then present their final proposal to the class for analysis.

* Design a Lesson

Have students design a lesson(s) to teach other students about the instruments of foreign policy. The students could then deliver their lesson(s) to a small group of other students.

* Make a Collage or Mobile

Have students design, create and present a collage or mobile of materials that summarizes the student's impression of the concept of foreign policy instruments. Display it and have it evaluated by other students given selected criteria.

TOPIC:

Extending Knowledge of Foreign Policy

CONCEPT(S):

Foreign Policy

ACTIVITY TYPE:

Extension

OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will organize and synthesize their learning about the concept of foreign policy in a personal, meaningful way.

RESOURCES:

- * Appendix #A9: A listing of useful names and addresses that could be contacted by students regarding international affairs.
- * Appendix #D10: Tips on Letter Writing.

STRATEGY:

- * A News Report

Students either individually or in groups design and produce a video, audio or oral presentation on a specific international event or issue in which Canada has been involved. The focus of the presentation should be on all or some of the topics covered under the concept of foreign policy. The object is not only to provide information, but also for students to evaluate Canadian foreign policy in the selected case. Was it wise or unwise? Were there other alternatives for Canada?

This project can be made even more interesting if a number of groups are assigned responsibility for the same event or issue. Their views and evaluation of the event or issue can then be compared for similarities and differences. Where differences exist, the class can try to reach a consensus.

This same approach could be used to suggest possible future lines for Canadian foreign policy in a specific area.

- * Debate or Tag Discussion

Debate or discuss the statement: "Foreign policy without armaments (weapons) is like a symphony without musical instruments". This can be done as a "tag" discussion. To begin this strategy, the teacher arranges five (5) desks in the centre of the room. Five

volunteers sit in these desks and start the discussion. The other students sit on the edge of their desks listening to the discussion as it unfolds. If they wish to add something, they touch the shoulder of one of the people in the centre and replace them. The teacher may periodically stop the discussion to get a summary on the board ("What have we decided so far?") or to arbitrarily replace the people in the centre with five (5) new people.

* Letter Writing

Using the names and addresses found in Appendix #A9, students could write people and organizations to gather information and views on specific foreign policy events or issues. Appendix #D10 can be used to get them started with their letters. Replies should be shared and discussed with the class. This could become a letter writing project. Students could be asked to write at least three letters during the year to reinforce the idea that the course has relevance to the world outside the school. Student letters and replies could be published in the school or local newspaper.

* Meet the Press

Divide the class into groups. Each person in the group will have to play two parts: the Minister for External Affairs, and a member of the media. Have the students select (or the teacher selects) an international event or issue that is current. Each person must research Canada's response to the event or issue. This can be done by focusing on influences on foreign policy, goals of foreign policy and instruments of foreign policy.

Come 'meet the press time', the teacher selects one student to start off as the Minister for External Affairs. This person will answer questions and criticisms of the government's view and actions from the other members of the group who play the role of the media. Every 5-10 minutes, the teacher rotates the role of Minister to another person in the group. This exercise can also be done as a whole class by dividing the class into two groups. Each group would prepare for both roles, with roles being rotated from one group to the other. Other classes could be invited to watch this activity and discuss it with the participants afterwards.

* Make a Document Package

Have students design and create a package of materials on a specific aspect of Canadian foreign policy that could be placed on file in the school resource centre or library. It could then be used as a resource by other students. It should include a variety of items (maps, photographs, articles, charts, chronologies).

APPENDIX A1

INTRODUCTION TO FOREIGN POLICY: STUDENT WORKSHEET

Instructions: For each of the following categories, list three items found in your home, the country which produced the item, and the approximate cost of each item.

Category	Country	Price
----------	---------	-------

Food

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

Clothing

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

Transportation

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

Major Appliances

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

Entertainment

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

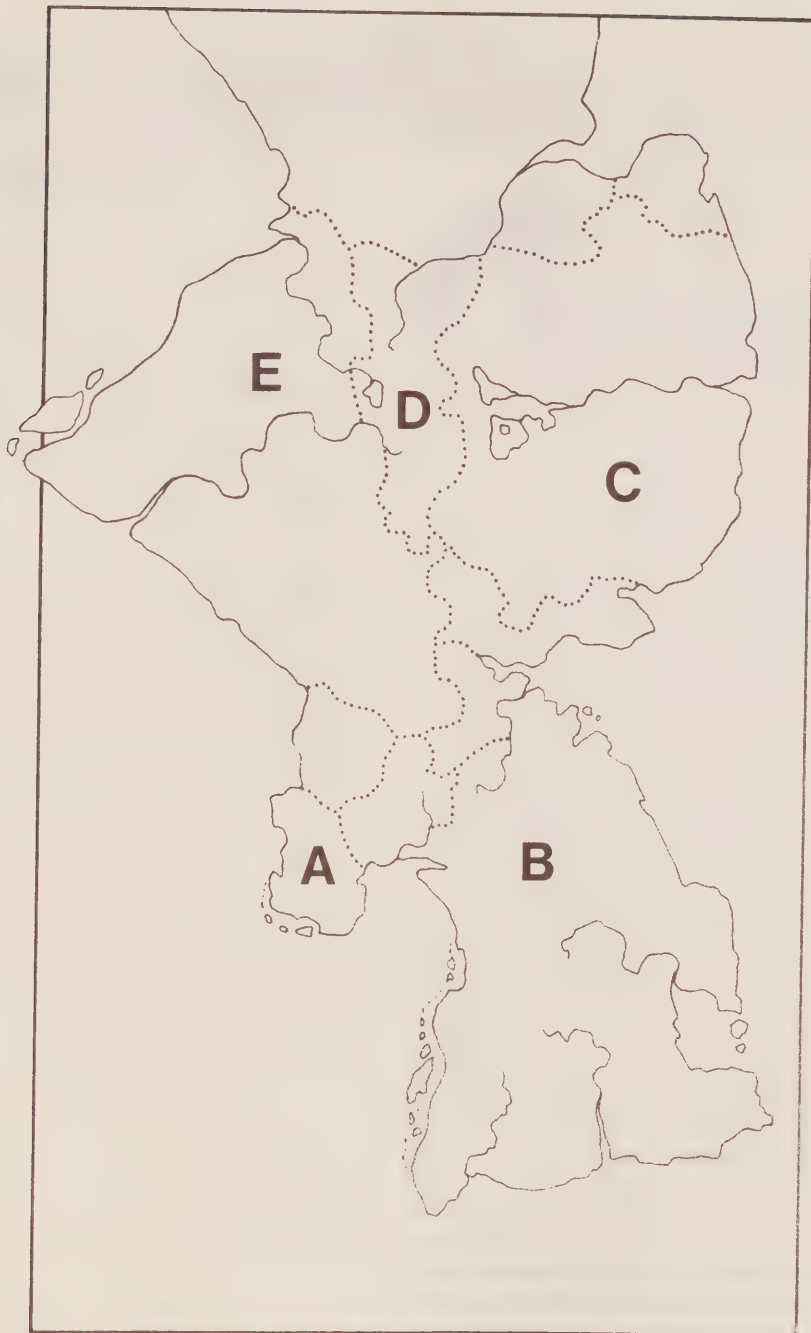
APPENDIX A2 IMAGINARY WORLD

	A Land	B Land	C Land	D Land	E Land
Geography	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Small country surrounded by other small nations. *One seacoast. *Only a few natural resources but those are abundant. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Large country. *Three seacoasts. *Many natural resources. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Large country. *Small, weaker nations on borders. *Rich and self-sufficient in natural resources. *Only one major seacoast. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Average size. *Surrounded by larger, stronger more stable nations. *Little land fit for farming. *Rich in natural resources. *Landlocked. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Large country. *Two major seacoasts but not very strong countries on borders. *Fairly rich in resources but increasingly dependent on foreign sources of strategic materials.
Population	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *About 32 million people. *Mainly the same cultural background. *Population is mainly rural. *Many people are uneducated. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *About 25 million people unevenly distributed. *Population is mainly urban. *Multicultural society. *People are well educated. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *About 200 million. *One ruling ethnic group with several lesser groups under its control; hard-working; serious. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *About 60 million; too many people for the size and wealth of the country. *Two major ethnic groups which are in constant conflict. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *About 150 million. *Several ethnic groups with no one especially dominant, fairly good relations.
Economy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Country was once a colony. *Most of the industry and resources are owned by foreign companies. *High standard of living for some but most people are poor. *Government's aim is to take over all foreign owned industry. The takeover will reestablish the country's independence. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Moderate industrialization. *Main source of income is sale of resources. *High standard of living. *Economy closely tied to the economies of other nations. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Quite prosperous. *Heavily industrialized. *Based on advanced technology, modern equipment. *Almost entirely self-sufficient, not a major trading nation. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Mostly agrarian with underdeveloped industry. *Masses live in poverty, though a few people are very rich. *A few staple exports, all of a raw product nature. *Badly needs foreign loans and investments. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Very prosperous. *Benefits from the most advanced technology, including automation and computerization. *Not self-sufficient, but a major trading nation.

	A Land	B Land	C Land	D Land	E Land
Military	<p>*Army is small but well equipped.</p>	<p>*Small but efficient army. *In recent years the army has been used mainly as an international peace-keeper. *Security is not a problem because of alliances.</p>	<p>*Very great--at least the equal of any other country. *Modern weapons. *Good training and tough discipline. *Three years compulsory military service for all males.</p>	<p>*Fairly large forces for the size of the country. *Two years compulsory military services for all males. *Few heavy or modern weapons; forces are equipped and trained mainly to stop internal disorders.</p>	<p>*Very great--equalled only by C Land. *Excellent weapons. *Citizens are loyal, but see little threat of war and want military spending reduced. *Public pressure has forced an end to compulsory military service.</p>
Government	<p>*The country is ruled by a king who is a member of the family that has ruled the country for sixty years.</p>	<p>*Follows democratic principles. *Aims have always been to maintain world peace. *Multiparty democratic system.</p>	<p>*One man rule. *Believes that might is right. *Believes that war is inevitable and is an effective way to gain objectives at times. *Believes all nations seek to expand and to win power over others.</p>	<p>*Dictatorship by the upper class, headed by the military. *Deep division. Ruling classes believe in free enterprise and rule by a few. Poor masses want revolution to establish democracy and introduce socialism.</p>	<p>*Democracy. *Believes that each country has right to be left alone and choose its own ways. *Believes peace is possible and desirable. *Believes nations should co-operate.</p>

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**APPENDIX A2
IMAGINARY WORLD**



APPENDIX A3 IN MY OPINION ...

If you were to ask individual Canadians what the emphasis of Canada's foreign policy should be, you would likely get many different responses. The range of their views might be expressed as the opinions that follow. The people portrayed are fictional, but their views reflect real Canadian concerns. With which viewpoints do you most agree?



Brian Wagner: "I've just been laid off. The Canadian company I worked for was having financial difficulties,

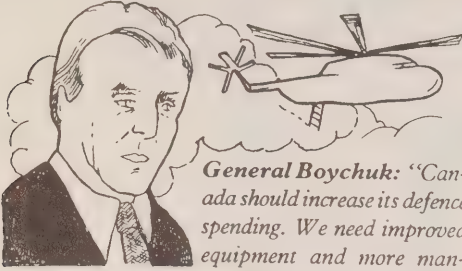
and was trying to sell to an international company. The Canadian government ruled against the sale. They felt the company's ownership should stay in Canada. The company's present owners decided to close down instead of searching for Canadian investors. Now we're out of work and jobs are hard to find. I don't think the government had any business in the sale."



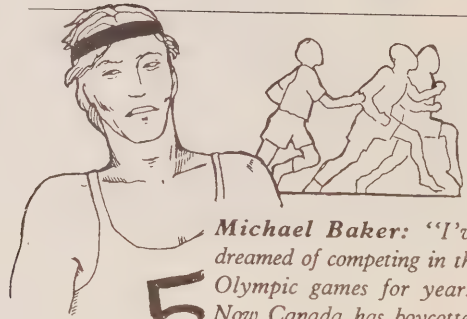
Kevin Antonio: "I can't find a job! I just finished high school and I don't have much experience. Every time a job opening comes up, someone with more experience gets it. How am I supposed to get experience if nobody will hire me? Canada spends millions of dollars putting people to work in other parts of the world. Why can't the government spend a little more money at home and help people like me find work?"



Caroline Sorensen: "Canada has a good record as a peacekeeping nation. We have served in over a dozen peacekeeping operations since World War II. Since the world can't afford a nuclear war, I think Canada should become a neutral country and drop out of alliances altogether. That way Canada could spend more time and money on keeping the peace."



General Boychuk: "Canada should increase its defence spending. We need improved equipment and more manpower. A strong defence discourages attack. If our defences are weak, our only choice, if attacked, is to surrender."



Michael Baker: "I've dreamed of competing in the Olympic games for years. Now Canada has boycotted the games in protest of the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan. I don't agree with the Canadian action. It is not our concern what happens in disputes between other countries. If I don't compete this year, I'll never have a chance again."

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APPENDIX A3
In My Opinion (Worksheet)

Instructions: What should Canada be most concerned about in its relations with other states? The sheets that you have been given present the opinions of five different Canadians on this question. For each of the opinions, answer the questions below.

1. Brian Wagner:

- a) What does this person think that the Canadian government should do or not do when it deals with other nations?

- b) To what degree do you agree with this person's views? Why?

2. Kevin Antonio:

- a) What does this person think that the Canadian government should do or not do when it deals with other nations?

- b) To what degree do you agree with this person's views? Why?

3. Caroline Sorensen:

- a) What does this person think that the Canadian government should do or not do when it deals with other nations?

- b) To what degree do you agree with this person's views? Why?

4. General Boychuk:

- a) What does this person think that the Canadian government should do or not do when it deals with other nations?

- b) To what degree do you agree with this person's views? Why?

5. Michael Baker:

- a) What does this person think that the Canadian government should do or not do when it deals with other nations?

- b) To what degree do you agree with this person's views? Why?

Conclusions:

The exercise that you have just completed was designed to get you thinking about how Canada ought to be dealing with other nations. It should have also led you to realize that there are many views on this question depending on who you talk to and how they are personally affected by decisions. On balance, what should Canada emphasize in its dealings with other nations?

APPENDIX A4
IN MY OPINION.....
(Alternative Points of View)

1. Brian Wagner:

Replace "I don't think the government had any business in the sale" with:

"Although I'm upset about having to look for a new job, I'm pleased that the government didn't let another Canadian firm fall into the hands of foreigners."

"I think that before Canadian firms sell out to foreigners, the government should make a law that gives the employees the chance to buy the firm first."

2. Kevin Antonio:

Replace "Why can't the government spend a little more money at home and help people like me find work?" with:

"But then again, Canada's aid overseas hardly compares with the billions of dollars spent at home on social programs."

"The government should ensure that all Canadians have jobs before we send money overseas."

3. Caroline Sorensen:

Replace "I think Canada should become a neutral country and drop out of alliances altogether. That way Canada could spend more time and money on keeping the peace" with:

"I think Canada should tell its allies it will make its alliance contribution by devoting its armed forces to peacekeeping, and peacekeeping only."

"I think Canada should continue its peacekeeping roles. But since this is a benefit to more than just Canada, we should not get involved in any more operations unless other countries in the world help to pay for them."

4. General Boychuk:

Replace "If our defences are weak, our only choice, if attacked, is to surrender" with:

"For this reason, we need to beef-up our defences in Canada and bring back our troops from Western Europe."

"Canada should consider allowing our allies to station nuclear weapons on our soil."

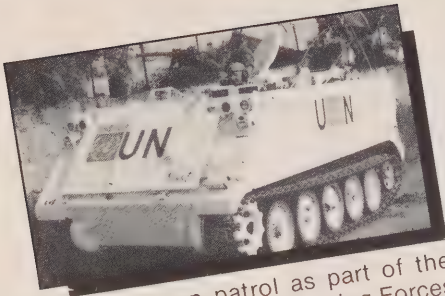
5. Michael Baker:

Replace "I don't agree with the Canadian action. It is not our concern what happens in disputes between other countries. If I don't compete this year, I'll never have a chance again" with:

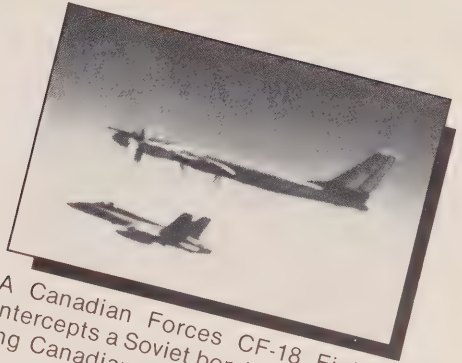
"I regret that I won't be able to compete in the Olympics, but Canada has to take a stand on such an important issue."

"I'm willing to sacrifice my participation in the Olympics, if other Canadians also have to make a sacrifice to let the Soviets know we don't like what they've done. For instance, we shouldn't sell any wheat to them."

APPENDIX A5



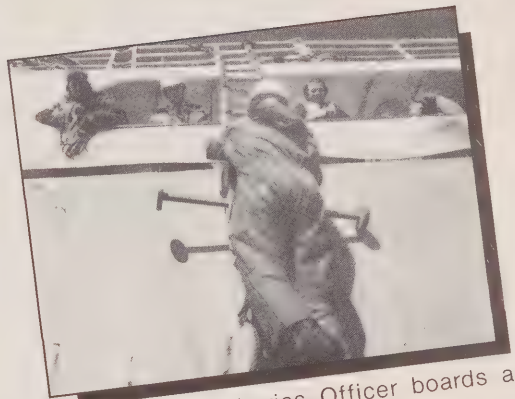
Canadians on patrol as part of the United Nations Peacekeeping Forces in Cyprus.



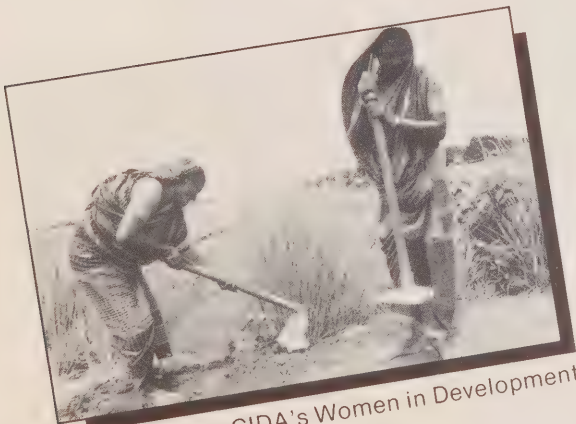
A Canadian Forces CF-18 Fighter intercepts a Soviet bomber approaching Canadian airspace.



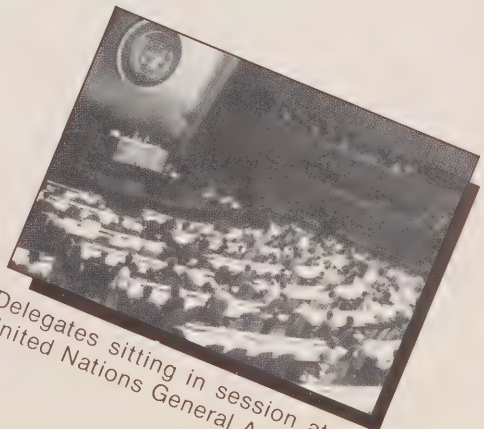
The distinctive mushroom cloud of a nuclear explosion.



A Canadian Fisheries Officer boards a foreign trawler in Canadian waters.



Participants in CIDA's Women in Development programme in Bangladesh.



Delegates sitting in session at the United Nations General Assembly.

PHOTO CREDITS

UNITED NATIONS FORCE IN CYPRUS, SOVIET BOMBER, UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY: S.S.C. Photo Centre A.S.C.

MUSHROOM CLOUD: Public Archives of Canada
PA/115124

WOMEN IN BANGLADESH: Canadian International Development Agency
(Photo by David Barbour)

FISHERY OFFICER: Communications Directorate, Department of Fisheries & Oceans

APPENDIX A6

Foreign policy is a plan of action developed by governments in order to deal with questions concerning international issues and relations. Foreign policy can also be thought of as the sum total of the many decisions a state takes when dealing with other states.

APPENDIX A7

THE TRUDEAU PEACE INITIATIVE

Over the winter and spring of 1983/1984, Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau visited 15 world capitals to discuss East-West relations, and the resumption of arms control and disarmament talks. His highly publicized effort became known as the Trudeau Peace Initiative.

Mr. Trudeau's initiative was launched at a time of worsening relations between East and West. In March 1983, US President Reagan presented his proposal for a Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). SDI would be a research programme whose purpose was to build defences against ballistic missiles. For some, SDI presented the possibility of an arms race in space. By the fall of 1983, it appeared that nuclear arms talks taking place in Geneva, Switzerland between the United States and Soviet Union would collapse. At the same time, there were mass public protests in Europe to the basing of Pershing II and cruise missiles in a number of West European states belonging to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Lastly, East-West relations became severely strained in September 1983 when the Soviets shot down Korean Air Lines Flight 007.

In this souring atmosphere, Prime Minister Trudeau feared that the future of East-West relations would be marked by stalemate and dangerous rhetoric, possibly leading to crisis. What was needed then, was some personal involvement on the part of the world's political leaders to rebuild confidence between East and West and respond to the concerns of the public.

During his initiative, Prime Minister Trudeau travelled around the world and met with US President Reagan, other NATO leaders, the leaders of Japan, China and the Commonwealth and several East European states. The last stop of Trudeau's travels was Moscow where he met Soviet General Secretary Konstantin Chernenko. Mr. Trudeau brought with him a list of specific arms control and disarmament proposals, as well as a list of 10 principles which spelled out areas of common interest between East and West. The list of principles included: a nuclear war cannot be won; a nuclear war must never be fought; and, the US and USSR must recognize each other's legitimate security interests.

The Trudeau Peace Initiative created a mixed response from Canadians and others. Some argued it was too rushed and there had not been enough discussion within the Canadian government, and with Canada's allies. Others argued that such a high profile initiative was not the appropriate role for Canada. Those people believed that Trudeau should have pursued his concerns through the more usual Canadian approach of 'quiet diplomacy' which emphasizes discussions with allies and friends behind the scenes. There was also speculation that the initiative was meant to boost the popularity of Trudeau's Liberal Party.

The impact of the Peace Initiative is difficult to judge, although by the time it was over in the spring of 1984, the tone of East-West relations had improved, and new arms negotiations had begun.

For example, NATO decided at a meeting in December 1983 to examine how best to ensure the defence of NATO, while improving relations with the Warsaw Pact at the same time. NATO later declared in May 1984 that there were common interests between East and West such as safeguarding the peace, increasing confidence, and improving methods to deal with crises, and these interests should be pursued. In January 1984, the Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe opened in Stockholm, Sweden. It brought together the members of NATO, the Warsaw Pact, and the neutral and non-aligned states of Europe. This conference marked a rebuilding of arms control contact between East and West.

While Prime Minister Trudeau's efforts may have contributed to an improved international atmosphere, the specific arms control proposals he presented during his initiative did not have much success. Measuring the success of the initiative, therefore, depends on whether one looks at the substance of his proposals, or the impact of his efforts to get political leaders to work harder to solve problems of mutual concern.

In the wake of the initiative, the Parliament of Canada created the Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security. The Institute was given the task of increasing "knowledge and understanding of the issues relating to international peace and security from a Canadian perspective..." in the hope that increasing knowledge would improve the climate among nations.

APPENDIX A7

CANADA AND PEACEKEEPING IN VIETNAM

From the 1850s to the time of the Second World War, France was the colonial ruler of Indochina, the region of Southeast Asia made up of Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam. During the Second World War, the Japanese took control of Indochina. The strongest Vietnamese resistance to the Japanese came from the Vietminh which was dominated by the Indochinese Communist Party led by Ho Chi Minh. After the defeat of Japan, Britain occupied the south of Vietnam, and the Vietminh took control of the north. With the agreement of the British and the United States, the south was turned back to the French. After this there began a guerilla war between the Vietminh and the French Union forces.

The war soon took on an international character with the Soviet Union and China providing aid to the Vietminh and the US providing aid to the French. By 1954, however, the French effort to regain control over all of Vietnam had failed and France suffered a major military defeat at Dienbienphu. In May, the Geneva conference took place to settle the conflict in Vietnam as well as in Cambodia and Laos. Representatives from China, Britain, France, the Soviet Union, the United States, North and South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia met. The result was what became known as the Geneva Accords.

In the case of Vietnam, the Accords were made up of a Ceasefire, and a Final Declaration. A ceasefire was established between the Vietminh and the French Union. Vietnam was temporarily divided into north and south, and there was to be an exchange of prisoners and free movement of civilians to whichever half of Vietnam they wished. The Final Declaration was a statement of political principles and goals by the Conference, and included a call for elections in July 1956 to unify Vietnam. An international commission was to supervise both the ceasefire arrangements and the elections.

The International Commission for Supervision and Control (ICSC) was therefore established and its members were India, Poland and Canada. (There were ICSCs for Cambodia and Laos as well.) In accepting a peacekeeping role in Indochina, Canada declared that by "establishing such security and stability in Southeast Asia, we will be serving our own country, as well as the cause of peace."

The first 300 days after the ceasefire were the busiest for the ICSC. It monitored the withdrawal of French forces to the south and the Vietminh to the north, the exchange of prisoners of war, and the movement of refugees between zones. Most of the refugees were fleeing from the north and some 900,000 people were estimated to have made the trip to the south.

By 1955, France had withdrawn most of its forces from Vietnam, and the United States became the dominant influence in the south. In October 1955, elections in the south made Ngo Dinh Diem President and he proclaimed the Republic of Vietnam. The temporary division between north and south created by the Geneva Accords became more permanent.

From the beginning, the work of the ICSC was difficult because it was highly dependent on the cooperation of both North and South Vietnam to carry out its inspections and observations. Differences also developed between the Indians, Poles and Canadians as to violations of the accords and what should be done about them. From the beginning, Canada regretted that the ICSC was not under the responsibility of the United Nations. The ICSC had no formal authority to turn to when disputes arose.

In April 1956, South Vietnam announced it would only agree to elections when it believed the conditions were proper. The North Vietnamese stepped up their attacks in the south, the south sought to eliminate the communists in its midst, and US aid increased. This increased intervention by both the North Vietnamese and the United States made the work of the ICSC nearly impossible. This was doubly so by 1965 when the US began a bombing campaign of North Vietnam and made a major commitment of US troops to the war. The ICSC continued to exist until 1973 but it became irrelevant to the conflict.

In 1968, the US began negotiations with the North Vietnamese which led to the Paris Accords signed in 1973. These accords established a ceasefire, exchange of prisoners of war and withdrawal of US forces. The accords called for a new truce commission composed of Canada, Hungary, Indonesia and Poland. The day after the accords were made public, Canada agreed to be on the new International Commission of Control and Supervision (ICCS), but only for a initial trial period of 60 days. This trial period was later extended but Canada withdrew from the ICCS in July.

Canada's brief stay on the ICCS was no more successful than its previous experience in Vietnam, and was in fact more controversial. Many thought the Paris Accords would not keep the peace and Canada should not get involved. This was especially so since none of Canada's preconditions for a successful peacekeeping operation were met. It was argued that Canada's peacekeeping was merely a cover for the US withdrawal and exchange of prisoners of war which occurred in the first 60 days after the accords were signed. In the end, a military offensive begun by the North Vietnamese in late 1974 led to the fall of Saigon, the capital of the south, in April 1975 and the definitive end of Canada's bitter peacekeeping experience in Vietnam.

APPENDIX A7

CANADA AND THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS

In October 1962, the United States discovered that the Soviet Union was planning to place nuclear missiles in Cuba, 100 miles from Florida. These missiles would be able to reach targets in the United States. This was considered a serious threat to the security of the United States, and the US responded on October 22 by surrounding Cuba with navy ships to create a blockade. The blockade was meant to prevent the Soviets from delivering missiles and necessary equipment.

Canada became involved in the crisis when the American government of President John F. Kennedy informed Prime Minister Diefenbaker of the blockade only an hour and a half before it was to begin. At that same time, the US asked Canada to place its armed forces on alert in case the crisis became more serious.

Prime Minister Diefenbaker did not give his authorization immediately, but decided to discuss the matter in cabinet. However, the Minister of Defence, Douglas Harkness, went ahead and ordered the alert without informing the Prime Minister, Parliament or the Canadian public.

For the next two days, the cabinet debated the American request. Diefenbaker and Howard Green, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, were opposed to putting Canadian forces on alert. They had several reasons for their opposition to the idea. First, they were annoyed that Canada had not been advised sooner. They also feared that such an action by Canada might make the Soviets believe they were going to be attacked by the United States. Diefenbaker and Green were concerned about US policy on Cuba and did not want to be closely associated with it. Lastly, they believed Canada needed to have a foreign policy independent of the United States.

Douglas Harkness, however, argued that Canada's existing defence agreement with the United States (the North American Air Defence Command or NORAD), and Canada's membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) meant that Canada was obliged to participate in the alert. He also believed that the missile crisis was significant enough that Canada ought to show its support for the US.

When the discussion began, about half the cabinet ministers were undecided on the matter. But as Soviet ships sailed closer to Cuba, and closer to the US blockade, more ministers began to support Harkness and the alert. By October 24, a majority of cabinet ministers were in favour and Diefenbaker authorized the alert. The decision was announced on October 25 in the House of Commons.

The Soviets did not challenge the American blockade of Cuba, and the Cuban Missile Crisis ended when the Soviet leader Khrushchev sent a letter agreeing to dismantle the missile launching sites in Cuba. At the same time, the United States agreed eventually to remove its Jupiter missiles in Turkey which posed a threat to the Soviet Union. The US also agreed not to invade Cuba.

APPENDIX A8
IS THIS, OR IS THIS NOT A FOREIGN POLICY ACTION?

- 1) The Government of Canada announces a new programme to support the lumber industry in British Columbia.
- 2) The Canadian ambassador in Washington is instructed to try to convince US Congressman to pass legislation which will reduce acid rain.
- 3) After a Soviet satellite crashes in northern Canada, the Canadian Government announces it will ask the Soviet Union to help pay for the clean-up.
- 4) A Canadian firm which builds auto parts announces it will open a plant in Mexico.
- 5) The Government of Canada decides to restrict the number of Japanese automobiles entering Canada.
- 6) A Canadian ballet troupe takes part in an exchange with a ballet troupe from China.
- 7) At the United Nations, the Canadian ambassador criticizes the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan.
- 8) The Department of National Defence announces it will buy new vessels for the Navy.
- 9) Protestors in Vancouver protest the presence of the US Navy in Canadian waters.
- 10) Canada ships food to Africa to relieve those suffering through famine.

Instructions:

Review carefully the definition of foreign policy (Appendix #A6) before answering the questions. Decide if each of the cases above is an example of a foreign policy action. If it is an example, explain why in the blank provided. If it is not an example, explain why. In two cases, both answers are possible.

1) Foreign policy? Yes ____ No ____

Why? _____

2) Foreign policy? Yes ____ No ____

Why? _____

3) Foreign policy? Yes ____ No ____

Why? _____

4) Foreign policy? Yes ____ No ____

Why? _____

5) Foreign policy? Yes ____ No ____

Why? _____

6) Foreign policy? Yes ____ No ____

Why? _____

7) Foreign policy? Yes ____ No ____

Why? _____

8) Foreign policy? Yes ____ No ____

Why? _____

9) Foreign policy? Yes ____ No ____

Why? _____

10) Foreign policy? Yes ____ No ____

Why? _____

APPENDIX A9
SOURCES OF INFORMATION ON PEACE AND SECURITY

Embassies and High Commissions

British High Commission
80 Elgin Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1P 5K7
(613) 237-1530

Embassy of the People's Republic of China
511-515 St. Patrick Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1N 5H3
(613) 234- 2706

Embassy of France
42 Sussex Drive
Ottawa, Ontario
K1M 2C9
(613) 232-1795

Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany)
1 Waverly Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K2P 0T8
(613) 232-1101

Embassy of Japan
255 Sussex Drive
Ottawa, Ontario
K1N 9E6
(613) 236-8541

Embassy of the Republic of South Africa
15 Sussex Drive
Ottawa, Ontario
K1M 1M8
(613) 744-0330

Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)
 285 Charlotte Street
 Ottawa, Ontario
 K1N 8L5
 (613) 235-4341

Embassy of the United States of America
 100 Wellington Street
 Ottawa, Ontario
 K1P 5T1
 (613) 238-5335

Non-Governmental Organizations

Canadian Centre for Arms Control and Disarmament
 710-151 Slater Street
 Ottawa, Ontario
 K1P 5H3
 (613) 230-7755

Canadian Institute of International Affairs
 15 King's College Circle
 Toronto, Ontario
 M5S 2V9
 (416) 979-1851

Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies
 1202-1 St. Clair Avenue West
 Toronto, Ontario
 M4K 1K6
 (416) 964-6623

Canadian Peace Alliance
 5-555 Bloor Street West
 Toronto, Ontario
 M5S 1Y6
 (416) 588-5555

Project Ploughshares
 Conrad Grebel College
 Waterloo, Ontario
 N2L 9Z9
 (519) 888-6541

United Nations Association in Canada
808-63 Sparks Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1P 5A6
(613) 232-5751

World Federalists of Canada
207-145 Spruce Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1R 6P1
(613) 232-0647

Crown Corporations and Government Departments

Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security
900-360 Albert Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1R 7X7
(613) 990-1593

Department of External Affairs
Foreign Policy Information and Publications
125 Sussex Drive
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0G2
(613) 996-3709

Director General of Information
Department of National Defence
101 Colonel By Drive
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0K2
(613) 996-2353

APPENDIX A10

WHAT INFLUENCES FOREIGN POLICY?

Making foreign policy is a matter of making decisions and choosing among options and priorities. One of these decisions is what goals a state should pursue in its relations with other states. A plan is then drawn up to show how these goals are to be achieved. This is not a precise plan detailing each step of the way, but rather a broad outline of how a state's goals can best be achieved. When a specific decision has to be made, such as whether or not to allow foreign military bases into your country, this decision is made with foreign policy goals in mind. Throughout this decision-making process, there are influences or factors which will affect which goals are set, and what policies are chosen.

Trying to determine what specific influences shape particular foreign policy decisions is a difficult task. If, however, one looks at foreign policy as a more long-term plan or pattern of behaviour, it is easier to pick out influences which have affected policy over time. Some of these influences which affect the foreign policy of all states are:

- 1) Geography--Where is the state located? Who are its neighbours? What natural resources does a state possess? If a state is an island, it does not have to fear a land invasion. If a state is surrounded by several neighbours, it may well have to consider the possibility of invasion.
- 2) Public Opinion--In democratic countries where people have a choice of who will govern, it is clear that public opinion has some influence on foreign policy. If the public has strong views about an issue in foreign policy (for instance, whether or not the country should have nuclear weapons), leaders will pay attention because they want to be elected again. Even in countries where one cannot choose the government, some attention must be paid to public opinion. No government will last if it does not maintain a sufficient amount of support with at least some of the population.
- 3) Policies of Other States--A state's foreign policy must take into account the foreign policy of other states. This is especially true if another state's foreign policy has a direct impact on your country. For instance, if your neighbour's goal is to dominate and control all surrounding countries, you would have to react. You might respond by making security the most important goal of your foreign policy and carry out this goal by building a large and powerful army.
- 4) Power--When one speaks of power in the relationships between states, it often means military power. Some people argue that the greatest influence on foreign policy is power and the ability to force or influence other countries to accept your demands. There are, however, other ways to measure and think about power. Power can be measured by the strength of an economy, the degree of sophistication of a country's technology or

even the size of the population. The success of a country's foreign policy will be influenced by the country's power, and the power of the countries it must deal with.

- 5) History--Previous experience dealing with other countries is another influence. This experience provides leaders with ideas as to which countries they should beware of, which countries they share common interests with, and what problems might arise in the future.
- 6) Economics--What does the state produce? Who are its major trading partners? What industries dominate the economy? Who owns these industries? The economy and the wealth and jobs it produces for people is a major concern of political leaders. Since most economies depend on trade with other countries in order to grow, foreign policy usually takes into account the impact a particular decision may have on the economy.
- 7) Ideology--Ideology is a system of beliefs. These are important beliefs which affect many aspects of a person's and state's behaviour. For instance, the dominant ideology in Canada is based on such ideas as democracy, free enterprise, and the equal treatment of everyone before the law. An ideology helps one interpret events and decide how to react to them.
- 8) Views of Leaders--The personal views of those people responsible for making foreign policy will have an influence on that policy. These views will be blended in with those influences mentioned above.

APPENDIX A11 FOREIGN POLICY GOALS

Foreign Policy

Governments usually develop a plan of action to deal with questions concerning international issues and relations. This plan is called "foreign policy". Foreign policy guides the government and its decision-makers when it comes time to make specific decisions. In addition to being a plan to guide decision-making, foreign policy can be thought of as the sum total of the many decisions a state takes when dealing with other countries. When considered all together, these many decisions usually reveal the goals a government is pursuing.

Foreign Policy Goals

When making foreign policy, a state must decide what goals are important. These goals indicate what foreign policy should achieve or promote. Foreign policy goals require governments to choose among priorities and sometimes cope with priorities which conflict with each other.

The Government of Canada carried out a full-scale review of foreign policy in 1968. The results were published in 1970, and six goals were set out:

- 1) Economic Growth--Foreign policy should promote balanced and continuous growth in the economy. Part of this growth will be the result of trade with other nations and Canadian participation in various international economic institutions.
- 2) Sovereignty--Canada must maintain its ability to control its own affairs without interference from other states.
- 3) Peace and Security--Canada seeks to minimize international violence. A less violent world improves the security of all nations, including Canada.
- 4) Social Justice--This refers to improving the standard of living of people around the world and ensuring that people are treated fairly and humanely.
- 5) Quality of Life--Canada's relations with other countries should enhance the lives of Canadians through such activities as cultural and scientific exchanges.
- 6) Safe Environment--The Canadian environment and its resources must be protected and managed well. Cooperation with other countries to solve global environmental problems is one way to achieve this goal.

In 1985, the Government of Canada published a list of foreign policy goals somewhat different from that of 1970. In its paper Competitiveness and Security: Directions for Canada's International Relations, the Department of External Affairs listed the objectives of Canada's foreign policy as: unity, sovereignty and independence, justice and democracy, peace and security, economic prosperity, and the integrity of the natural environment.

APPENDIX A12
GOALS OF FOREIGN POLICY (WORKSHEET)

The list below gives six possible things a country could emphasize in its relations with other countries. See the attached sheet (Appendix #A11) for a full explanation of each of the six items on the list. Which do you think is the most important thing that a country should emphasize? In other words, what do you think a country's number 1 goal ought to be when it deals with other countries? Put a "1" in the blank beside this goal. Continue to rank the list all the way down to the least important goal ("6"). Do you have any goals you would add to the list?

Social Justice

Peace & Security

Economic Growth

Sovereignty

Safe Environment

Quality of Life

Briefly explain your choice of the order above:

APPENDIX A13 IDENTIFY THE GOALS OF FOREIGN POLICY

- 1) A Canadian Embassy is opened in a country where there was none before.
- 2) Canada tries to rally support within the Commonwealth for a strong stand against *apartheid* in South Africa.
- 3) Canada joins the NATO alliance in 1949.
- 4) Canada has an official policy of restricting arms sales to countries considered to have particularly bad human rights records.
- 5) Canada urges the US and USSR to reach an agreement limiting strategic nuclear weapons.
- 6) After a dispute with France over fishing rights in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, Canada bars French vessels from using Canadian port facilities.
- 7) After the Soviet Union shoots down Korean Airlines Flight 007, Canada sends a note of protest to the Soviet Union.
- 8) Canada does not sell uranium to other countries for the manufacture of nuclear weapons.
- 9) Canada encourages members of the United Nations to continue to pay their financial dues owed to the UN.
- 10) Canada sends experts to Mexico City after that city suffers an earthquake.

Instructions: For each of the examples above, identify the goals of foreign policy Canada was pursuing. Explain your answer in the space provided.

1) Goal: _____

2) Goal: _____

3) Goal: _____

4) Goal: _____

5) Goal: _____

6) Goal: _____

7) Goal: _____

8) Goal: _____

9) Goal: _____

10) Goal: _____

APPENDIX A14

CASE STUDIES: GOALS OF FOREIGN POLICY

Case 1: Canada and the Birth of NATO

The signing of the North Atlantic Treaty on April 4, 1949 was the end result of a year of negotiations which created the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. From the beginning, Canada was a strong supporter of the concept of an Atlantic alliance.

Despite the fact that the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union fought together against Nazi Germany in the Second World War, relations quickly cooled between these countries when the war ended. The US and Britain became deeply suspicious of Soviet actions after the war and soon viewed the USSR as the new enemy. Much of this suspicion arose out of the Soviet occupation of Eastern Europe and the Soviets' refusal to allow these countries to determine their own futures. Canada was also concerned about Soviet behaviour. In September 1947, Canadian External Affairs Minister Louis St. Laurent spoke before the United Nations General Assembly. He stated that if threatened, the states of the West (Canada, US, Britain and Western Europe) might have to form an alliance to protect their interests.

Six months after St. Laurent's speech, discussions began in Washington, D.C. which led to the creation of NATO. Canada viewed NATO as the basis for combining the military, economic and political strengths of countries with similar values and concerns. NATO would strengthen Western Europe and give it the backbone to rebuild itself and resist pressure from the Soviet Union.

Case 2: Canada and South Africa

Canada has long been an opponent of South Africa's policy of *apartheid*. *Apartheid* is the policy of the Government of South Africa which is meant to keep the majority black population separate from the minority white population. This policy also denies the black population equal access to political and economic power in South Africa. For instance, black citizens are not allowed to vote.

In 1961, Prime Minister John Diefenbaker supported South Africa's expulsion from the Commonwealth. Diefenbaker believed that *apartheid* was inconsistent with the goals and values of the Commonwealth. Today, with violence in South Africa continuing, and *apartheid* still in existence, Canada continues to press for change.

Canada has increased the scope of its sanctions against South Africa, that is, the number of goods and services it will not sell to, nor buy from South Africa. It has called on other countries as well to take similar actions. Canada has also increased its foreign aid to the "frontline states". The frontline states are those countries which border on South Africa. These countries are generally poor and their economies depend on trade with South Africa, and trade routes through South Africa. The idea is to reduce

these countries' dependence on trade with South Africa. This would allow them to continue to take a strong stand against *apartheid* without their economies suffering from actions taken against them by South Africa.

Case 3: Canadian-US Automotive Products Agreement

As the automobile became more and more popular in the 1950's and 1960's, the number of jobs involved in the auto industry also grew. In the early 1960's, the Government of Canada became concerned about the state of the Canadian auto industry. Because there were only so many Canadians who could buy a car (the Canadian auto market was limited in size), the growth of the Canadian auto industry would also be limited.

The Canadian government chose to negotiate the Canadian-US Automotive Products agreement with the United States. This agreement was signed in January 1965. It was meant to create a single North American market for the manufacture of automobiles. Rather than Canadian auto makers (which were in fact subsidiaries of American firms) only being able to make and sell cars in Canada, they would now be able to sell cars to the US as well. The same applied to US auto makers. Previously, each country had applied restrictions against each other which reduced the import of cars. The 1965 Auto Pact produced a limited form of free trade in autos between Canada and the US.

APPENDIX A14
GOALS OF CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY (WORKSHEET)

Instructions:

This activity will help you to test your understanding of the six major goals of Canadian foreign policy. You will find attached a short description of three international events in which Canada has been involved. Read all of the cases and then choose two that interest you. For each event that you have chosen, reproduce the form below in your notebooks and answer the questions.

Title of Event: _____

a) What did the Canadian government do in this case?

b) Why do you think the Canadian government chose to do this? (Your opinion)

c) Which of the six foreign policy goals was Canada pursuing in this case?

d) Briefly justify your answer to "c" above.

APPENDIX A15
WHAT WOULD YOU DO?: An Introduction to
Instruments of Foreign Policy

Read each of the cases below. In each case, a person has a certain goal they want to achieve. After each case, there is a list of possible methods that the person could use to achieve the goal. Decide which of these methods would be best given the circumstances and the goal. Give this the number "1". Now, select your second, third and fourth choices.

Case 1:

A group of tenants are shocked to receive eviction notices. The owner of the apartment building wants to improve the old building. The owner then wants to rent it again to new tenants at a rate much higher than any of the current tenants can afford. You don't want to move and cannot afford the proposed new rent. If you were one of the tenants, what would you do?

- a) Invite the owner to a meeting to express your concern about the renovation plan.
- b) Call the news media (newspapers, television, radio), explain how unfair the situation is, and ask them to cover the story.
- c) Get a lawyer and fight the owner in court.
- d) Send notes threatening the owner with physical harm if you are evicted.

Case 2:

The local school board announces that your school will be closed next year. You and your friends will all be bused to another school. Both you and your parents oppose this decision. What would you do to stop the board from carrying out its decision?

- a) Organize a strike and refuse to go to classes until the board reconsiders its plan.
- b) Call a meeting of concerned parents, students, and board officials to air your concerns.
- c) Have parents withhold their payment of school board taxes until the board reconsiders its plan.
- d) Paint anti-board slogans on the side of the board office one night.

Case 3:

You are starting a small student painting business for the summer. You know of another group of students in your area who are also going to start a very similar business. They know about you and have vowed to drive you out of business. They have a great deal of money at their disposal but they do not have much experience in the painting business. You, on the other hand, have worked as a painter's helper for the previous two summers. What will you do?

- a) Go to the bank or to friends to try to borrow enough money to mount a big advertising campaign.
- b) Tell potential customers that your competitor will do a poor job if they give them work.
- c) Call your competitor and offer to join forces with them--combine their money and your knowledge and then split the profits.
- d) Locate the place where they keep their paints and other materials and sabotage them.

APPENDIX A16 FOREIGN POLICY INSTRUMENTS

Foreign Policy

Many actions taken by states around the world have an impact on their neighbours and on even more distant countries. States must decide how to react to international events and the actions of others. To do this, they develop a plan of action. This plan is called "foreign policy". Foreign policy guides leaders when it comes time to make specific decisions. For instance, the Government of Canada believes that bodies which bring together many countries in order to discuss common concerns are beneficial to international peace and security. These bodies are called "multilateral forums". In concrete terms, this support for multilateral forums, as part of Canada's foreign policy, translates into support for specific bodies such as the United Nations.

What does a state use to carry out foreign policy?

To achieve a particular goal in foreign policy, a state must choose a specific means or several means of achieving it. The means or tools chosen to achieve a goal in foreign policy are called "foreign policy instruments". These instruments can be divided into two broad categories; military and non-military. Military instruments are those which depend on the use of military force or violence, or the threat to use such violence. Non-military instruments do not rely on military force or violence.

Non-Military Instruments

Some of the non-military instruments a country might use in the pursuit of its foreign policy are diplomatic pressure, mobilization of international opinion, the use of international law, economic sanctions, and the provision of foreign aid.

1. **Diplomacy:** Diplomacy is the management of formal relations between states. This is often conducted through embassies and ambassadors. An ambassador is a country's representative to the government of another country. Diplomacy is also conducted by heads of state and heads of government.

When a state does not approve of the actions of another country, or feels wronged by the other country's actions, it may use diplomatic pressure to convey a message of disapproval. Diplomatic pressure can take many forms, but some of the commonly used methods are: a formal letter of protest, withdrawing the ambassador, closing the embassy, or cutting diplomatic relations completely. All of these actions are designed to deliver a message to the particular country in question. The message is that its behaviour is not acceptable and therefore the country does not deserve the respect and courtesies it would normally be entitled to.

Diplomacy also includes negotiation. Negotiation is a process in which parties seek some form of common agreement. For example, Canadian and American diplomats and officials negotiated the US-Canada free trade deal to govern trade between the two states.

An example of diplomatic pressure occurred in early 1987 when Britain cut its diplomatic relations with Syria. This came as a result of evidence that the government of Syria was involved in a plan to blow up a British airliner.

2. **Mobilization of International Opinion:** The idea behind the mobilization of international opinion is to convince the world community that another country's actions are wrong, and that pressure should be put on them to change their behaviour. This can be done by diplomacy carried out in international organizations such as the United Nations, or through the manipulation of international events such as the Olympic Games.

In 1980, the United States led a boycott (a refusal to participate socially or economically with a certain state or group of states) of the Moscow Olympics. The boycott included countries such as Canada and Britain. The US was protesting the 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. By boycotting the Olympic games, the US and others were sending a message to the Soviet Union that they simply would not carry on normal relations with the Soviet Union when it had just sent troops to invade another country.

3. **International Law:** International law is a body of rules by which states govern their relations. When there is a dispute between countries, there is an International Court of Justice (also known as the World Court) that can decide which country's position is legally correct. It will only hear cases which are brought before it willingly by both sides to a disagreement. Although the court's decisions are legally binding, which means countries are committed to obey the decision under law, there is no way to force countries to obey. This is in contrast to the legal systems of individual states where there are police forces to enforce the law. In the international system, there is no police force to ensure that states abide by international law.

In 1986, the World Court decided on a case brought to it by Nicaragua. The court ruled that the United States had broken international law and violated Nicaraguan sovereignty by aiding the contras which sought to bring down the Nicaraguan government. More than a year earlier, however, the US announced it would ignore the court's proceedings and findings because the court did not have the jurisdiction to decide in a case involving ongoing armed conflict. The World Court rejected this claim.

4. **Economic Sanctions:** Economic sanctions are deliberate restrictions or controls imposed on another state's access to resources or ability to sell its products. These resources could be raw materials, goods, services, or markets. Sanctions may be used to punish a country for an action it has taken, or to encourage it to change its behaviour.

An example of sanctions was the US decision not to sell grain to the Soviet Union. This action was taken in response to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 (the US has since resumed selling grain to the USSR). Because the Soviet Union buys a great amount of US grain, the US decided it could punish the Soviets by denying them access to this grain.

5. **Foreign Aid:** Foreign aid provides help to countries which are poor and underdeveloped. It can be in the form of food, financial assistance, education, access to technology and even access to skilled personnel. It is meant to benefit countries which are needy but at the same time, it can also help build support for the country which provides the aid.

As an example of foreign aid, Canada provided Mozambique with almost \$30 million of aid in 1986-87. This aid was provided through various government and non-governmental organizations.

Military Instruments

Military instruments can be divided into three main types: alliances, military pressure, and war.

1. **Alliances:** An alliance can be defined as a formal association of states which pursues certain common interests. In international relations, an alliance is usually identified by the pursuit of common military interests. Those in the alliance will often sign a treaty which sets out the obligations each member has to other members and the alliance itself. Some military alliances are long-standing (like NATO or the Warsaw Treaty Organization) and serve mostly to prevent other states or alliances from taking hostile action against them. Other alliances are formed specifically for the purpose of fighting a war, and end after the war is over. An example of this type of alliance was the Grand Alliance in World War II. In the Grand Alliance, the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union fought together against Germany. Today, these states are in opposing alliances, Britain and the United States in NATO, and the Soviet Union in the Warsaw Treaty Organization.

An alliance can also serve as an instrument of diplomacy. By joining together in an alliance, like-minded states may have more influence and be more convincing to an opponent than if they pursued their interests separately.

2. **Military Pressure:** This involves the use of a state's military power to intimidate an enemy in order to convince him not to take a particular action. This can be done by putting one's armed forces on a high state of alert or massing them on a border. A limited military action might also be used to punish another state for a particular action.

The United States used limited military action to put pressure on Libya in 1986. In April 1986, the US bombed the Libyan capital of Tripoli. The United States said that the raid was intended to prevent the Libyan government from sponsoring terrorism against American citizens. The US accused Libya of having sponsored such terrorism in the past.

3. **War:** War is the most destructive foreign policy instrument available to states. It is often declared only after some of the other foreign policy instruments have been tried. This is because war carries tremendous costs for all parties involved.

In September 1980, Iraq launched a military offensive against Iran. It is believed that Iraq sought a quick victory which would allow it to settle a territorial dispute with Iran and reduce Iran's influence in the Persian Gulf. The fact that the war went on for eight years and there were many casualties on both sides illustrates the point that there are high costs involved for all sides when this instrument is used.

APPENDIX A17

FOREIGN AID--"Women in Development"

In recent years, the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) has emphasized the importance of making women part of Canada's international development efforts. In 1984, CIDA launched a policy which would highlight the substantial contribution that women make in the development of their communities and their societies. CIDA would promote this contribution by making the role of women a major factor to be considered in the planning and implementation of all international aid projects. This Canadian aid initiative was, to a large degree, a response to the UN-sponsored Decade for Women and its three major conferences held between 1975 and 1985.

The purpose of foreign aid is to raise the standard of living of the world's poor. A majority of the world's poorest people are women. In addition, women make up a majority of the world's illiterate population. Despite this, they produce most of the food in Africa and Asia. The unpaid labour of women in the Third World is estimated to be equal to \$4 trillion per year. In short, women of the Third World play an important but often unacknowledged role in their states' economy.

In 1986, the Canadian Parliament announced a five-year plan to address the issue of women in development (a policy known as WID for short). WID ensures that the planning and implementation of projects undertaken by CIDA take into account the needs, priorities, and roles of women in the Third World. For instance, the Rural Maintenance Program is an example of a project conceived to help women in development.

The Rural Maintenance Program targets desperately poor rural women of Bangladesh. Often widowed or abandoned, landless and untrained, these women still have responsibility for the welfare of their families. These circumstances often force women to beg and perform low paying and infrequent domestic labour. With the Rural Maintenance Program, women have the job of maintaining a network of farm-to-market roads. Each woman in the program is responsible for the maintenance of a one kilometre stretch of earth road. Their task is to keep the roadways passable. This gives them a steady income to buy needed goods, and pay for their children's education. The economy of Bangladesh is itself strengthened by the women's newly acquired spending power.

Development assistance aimed at women fulfils the broad goal of helping people build a better life for themselves and for future generations. To fulfil its purpose, development aid must address the needs of women, who are 50% of the world's poorest people.

APPENDIX A17

AMERICAN BOMBING OF LIBYA

On the evening of April 14, 1986, US Air Force F-111 bombers based in Britain, and Navy A-5 and A-6 fighters based on aircraft carriers in the Mediterranean Sea, joined in an attack on the Libyan cities of Tripoli and Benghazi. The bombings damaged a Libyan air base, destroying and damaging Soviet-built transport and fighter planes. In addition, Libyan leader Colonel Moammar Qaddafi's home and headquarters in Tripoli were attacked.

The attack on Libya came after more than five years of rising tension between Libya and the United States. The Administration of President Ronald Reagan believed that Colonel Qaddafi was responsible for a series of terrorist acts in the 1980's. Less than two weeks prior to the bombing of Libya, a terrorist bomb destroyed a West Berlin discotheque. A US soldier and Turkish woman were killed and over 200 others were wounded. The terrorists who planted the bomb were linked by the US to the Libyan Mission in East Berlin.

A series of other terrorist incidents in Europe were also linked to Libya. In May 1984, a Libyan diplomat shot a British policewoman outside the Libyan Mission in London. Terrorist attacks at the Rome and Vienna airports in December 1985 further fuelled tensions. In January 1986, Colonel Qaddafi claimed to be training people to carry out attacks against Americans.

Before the US attack, the Reagan Administration encouraged its European allies to take action against Libya. The US sought to restrict the movement of Libyan diplomats in Europe and impose economic sanctions as well.

APPENDIX A17
THE UNITED STATES, WESTERN EUROPE AND
SOVIET NATURAL GAS

In the late 1970's, Western Europe became increasingly concerned about its energy supplies. It imported most of its oil from the Middle East and prices were rising and there were worries about how reliable these suppliers were. Most of the countries of Western Europe decided they could improve their energy security by importing relatively cheap Soviet natural gas. The Soviets were in the process of developing vast gas fields in Western Siberia. It was agreed that a gas pipeline would be built to deliver Soviet natural gas to Western Europe.

The United States objected to the gas pipeline for several reasons. The US argued that:

- 1) The money paid to the Soviets for the gas would benefit the Soviet military.
- 2) If Europe became dependent on Soviet gas, the Soviet Union could blackmail Europe by shutting off the gas.
- 3) The high technology equipment being sold to the Soviets in order to build the pipeline had military applications.
- 4) Europe was making low cost loans to the Soviets to help them build the pipeline. Europe should not be subsidizing the Soviet economy.

The US acted on its concerns by trying to stop the building of the pipeline. First it imposed sanctions against the Soviet Union in December 1981, preventing it from buying any US oil and gas equipment. Then in the summer of 1982, the US tried to stop European firms from selling American equipment they had bought and were going to sell to the Soviets. In addition, the US tried to prevent the Europeans from selling equipment they made themselves using US-owned technology.

Western Europe did not appreciate American attempts to force them to change a policy they believed was in their best interests. European manufacturers were ordered by their governments to continue sales to the Soviets, despite US threats of punishment. After much debate and harsh words, the US and its European allies agreed to a set of measures regarding energy purchases from the Soviets. In November 1982, at the same time that this agreement was set, the US penalties against the Europeans were removed.

APPENDIX A17
INSTRUMENTS OF FOREIGN POLICY (WORKSHEET)

Instructions:

This activity will help test your understanding of the instruments of foreign policy. You will find attached (Appendix #A17), descriptions of 3 international events. Read all of the cases and then choose 2 that interest you. For each event that you have chosen, reproduce the form below in your notebooks and answer the questions.

Title of event: _____

a) What did the governments do in this case?

b) Which instrument(s) were used in this case?

c) Why do you suppose this instrument was chosen, and would another instrument of foreign policy have been more effective?



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TOPIC:

Introduction to Security

CONCEPT(S):

Security

ACTIVITY TYPE:

Motivational

OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will realize that patterns already present in their lives with regard to personal security suggest reasons for the behaviour of states when they too feel threatened.

RESOURCES:

- * Appendix #B1: List of situations that might be threatening in varying degrees to people.

STRATEGY:

1. Hand out copies of Appendix #B1 and have students do the activity. Then put the students into groups to answer the following questions:
 - a) What do you think about each of the situations?
 - b) What do all of the situations have in common?
 - c) Rank order the list of items from the situation that is most threatening to the situation you find least threatening. Be prepared to explain your choice of order to the rest of the class.
2. Debrief the student answers (possible discussion questions):
 - a) Is everyone equally threatened by the same sorts of things? Why? Why not? (Take up student ranking exercise. This may eventually lead to the point that perception can play a powerful role in situations of personal and national security.)
 - b) How would you account for people's different reactions or feelings about things that might be threatening to them?
 - c) How important is a feeling of security or safety to well-being? Can you ever be too worried about your security?
 - d) What actions can you take to reduce your feelings of insecurity in each of the situations in the exercise? Which would you use? Why?

- e) Can you suggest things that threaten countries and make them feel insecure?
- f) In what ways are the feelings of whole countries similar to those of people when they feel threatened and insecure? In what ways are these feelings different?

TOPIC:

Threats to National Security: Formulating and Solidifying the Concept

CONCEPT(S):

Security

ACTIVITY TYPE:

Developmental

OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will there is a connection between the concept of security as applied to international relations, and its application to their own lives.

RESOURCES:

- * Appendix #A5: Photo collage of foreign policy instruments.
- * Appendix #B2: A collage of pictures and headlines that presents images of various threats to a country's security.
- * Appendix #B3: Cartoon that satirizes the perceptions that the US and USSR have of each other.
- * Appendix #B4: A reading that defines the term "security" as it applies to states.
- * Appendix #D2: A Guide to political cartoons.

STRATEGY:

- * Collage

Students are put in groups and given a copy of Appendix #A5 and #B2. The group should discuss some of the following questions:

- a) What is going on in these events? What in the two collages do you think is threatening to Canada? Why?
- b) Assume you were a witness to the events in the collages which you think threaten Canada. Which situations would you have found personally threatening? Why? Why not?
- c) If you think that any of the events in the collage represent a threat to Canada, what would you suggest that Canada do about it? List alternatives. Which would you suggest is the wisest? Why?

* Cartoon Analysis: Security Issues and Events

Appendix #B3 provides a cartoon which satirizes the perceptions the US and USSR have of each other. Using political cartoons requires some skill. See Appendix #D2 for a list of suggested questions that teachers should instruct students to ask about any political cartoon in order to analyze and evaluate it.

* Maps

Using a map of the world, have students consider the concept of 'security.' Can security be defined absolutely? Can one country's security produce insecurity for another? How relevant is physical geography to security? The teacher could focus on particular regions of the world when asking these questions, for example, North America, the Middle East, Central America, Europe, Southern Africa, etc.

Do Canadians have a particular world view which influences what they view as "security"? If one were to draw a map of the 'World Viewed from Canada', what would it look like? Who are Canada's 'friends' and 'adversaries' on such a map? What do students think security means for a country?

* Reading: Security

Appendix #B4 provides a reading that defines security as it applies to states. To follow up the reading, discuss some of the following questions with the class as a whole:

- a) To what degree are the things which threaten countries similar to the kinds of things that threaten individuals? Ask students for examples to illustrate their views.
- b) How important is either a real or imagined sense of safety and security to the well-being of a country? Assume that a country was constantly feeling threatened. What effect might this have on the country as a whole and on its individual citizens? What could be done about this?
- c) What threatens Canadian national security? List these threats. Which would you regard as the greatest threats to Canada's security? Why?

TOPIC:

Practising and Applying the Concept of Security

CONCEPT(S):

Security

ACTIVITY TYPE:

Application

OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will master and apply the concept of security through activities that permit practice, reinforcement and personalization.

RESOURCES:

- * Appendix #B5: Background reading on the 1987 Canadian Defence White Paper:
- * Appendix #B6: Factsheets:
 - #1 NORAD (North American Aerospace Defence Command)
 - #2 NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization)
 - #3 The Cruise Missile and Cruise Missile Testing in Canada
 - #4 Peacekeeping
 - #5 Nuclear Weapon-Free Zones (NWFZs)
 - #6 The Warsaw Pact (Warsaw Treaty Organization)
 - #7 Security: Canada and the Arctic
 - #8 Sovereignty: Canada and the Arctic
 - #9 United Nations and Disarmament
 - #10 Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)
 - #11 Military use of Space
 - #12 United Nations and International Security

STRATEGY:

- * Researching Security Cases in Canadian History

Students could be referred to their textbook to locate and research key events in Canadian history that relate to the concept of security. In each case, they should identify the security concern, the actions taken to reduce the threat, and provide a personal evaluation of these actions.

- * Student-Generated White Paper on Defence (Jigsaw I technique--see Appendix #D1 for a full explanation.)

1. The teacher assumes the role of the Minister of National Defence and instructs the students that their task is to produce a White Paper on Defence. Students are also informed that a government spending freeze requires that increased spending in one area must be met by a corresponding cut elsewhere. After creating Home Groups consisting of four, the teacher assigns the reading of

Appendix #B5 to familiarize the students with the nature of a White Paper in general, and the last White Paper on Defence in particular.

2. Members of the Home Group are each assigned a specific topic from the following list: Arctic Sovereignty and Security, Alliance Commitments, Peacekeeping, Canada and Nuclear Arms and Disarmament. Students are then sent to Expert Groups to research their issue with others assigned the same topic, and prepare recommendations for the Minister. The appropriate Factsheets drawn from Appendix #B6, can be used for background information. Students should be reminded that an increase in military hardware, manpower and so on must be met by a corresponding cut, and therefore they may have to convince the Home Group of the importance of their proposal.
3. Students return to their Home Groups where they present both the background to the issues and their proposals.
4. Once all proposals are on the table, the Home Group discusses which recommendations to keep and which to drop. The group then prepares a White Paper of at least 2 pages which clearly outlines the government's main objectives and proposals.

- * A Newspaper Collection

Have students clip articles, headlines, political cartoons etc. from newspapers and magazines that in their view illustrate the phrase "Threats to National Security". Students should explain their choices.

- * Information Pamphlet

Write a pamphlet designed to summarize what the student thinks are the current and/or historical threats to Canadian security. Their results could then be compared with those of other students and discussed.

TOPIC:

Introduction to Alliances

CONCEPT(S):

Security, Alliance

ACTIVITY TYPE:

Motivational

OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will realize that patterns already present in their lives with regard to alliances suggest some of the reasons for the behaviour of states when they too develop alliances.

RESOURCES:

- * Appendix #B7. A group problem solving activity requiring collective action in a competitive environment.

STRATEGY:

- * A Group Problem-Solving Activity

Set up a group problem-solving activity similar to the one suggested in Appendix #B7 or simply use Appendix #B7. Group problem-solving activities can be found in group dynamics training manuals. The exercise should lead students to realize the potential costs and benefits of working with other students or groups towards a common goal in a competitive environment.

- * Working with Student Experiences

1. Put students into groups to discuss the last time they worked in a group to do a school project or some other required task.
2. Throughout the discussion, students should develop ideas and notes about such things as:
 - a) When and why it is desirable to cooperate with others;
 - b) The advantages of working with others towards a common goal;
 - c) The disadvantages of working with others towards a common goal; and,
 - d) The kinds of conflicts which can arise among groups that have pledged to work together towards some common goal(s).

TOPIC:

Alliances: Formulating and Solidifying the Concept

CONCEPT(S):

Security, Alliances

ACTIVITY TYPE:

Developmental

OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will understand the pattern of the development of the present superpower alliances.
2. Students will understand the nature of the relationship that Canada has with the United States in NORAD and its alliance partners in NATO.

RESOURCES:

- * Appendix #A2: A imaginary world with a description of the national characteristics of each state.
- * Appendix #B6: Factsheets on NATO and NORAD
- * Appendix #B8: Which countries make the best allies?: Worksheet
- * Appendix #B9: Map exercise to identify the membership in current East-West alliance systems.
- * Appendix #B10: A criteria-based decision-making organizer for the question "Should Canada stay in or leave NATO?"
- * Appendix #B11: "Should Canada stay in or leave NATO: Things to consider before making your decision." This provides information to be placed into the information cells of Appendix #B10.
- * Appendix #B12: "Should Canada stay in or leave NATO: How this exercise can be presented to students." This is an instruction sheet for the teacher on how a decision-making organizer can be used to reach a decision about Canada's commitment to NATO.
- * Appendix #B13: A sheet on "Eight Steps to using a Decision-Making Organizer".
- * Appendix #B14: Reading on "Alliances and Diplomacy: Conventional Disarmament and Open Skies."

STRATEGY:* Imaginary World: Alliances

1. Put students into groups to consider the imaginary world shown in Appendix #A2. Assign each group a country to represent. Explain that rising world tensions have led most countries to consider forming alliances for their defence. (The teacher should present a scenario explaining the source of tension.) The students' task is to determine if an alliance would be in their best interest, and if so, with which country(s) an alliance would be most and least desirable.
2. Have student groups discuss and complete Appendix #B8.
3. After completing Appendix #B8, the teacher may wish to take the exercise a step further by having the groups attempt to reach an agreement with their perceived adversaries in order to head off conflict in the first place.
4. As an alternative, the teacher may wish to conclude by initiating a class discussion in which the students consider:
 - i) what are the most important factors Canada must consider in joining an alliance; and,
 - ii) are alliances necessary for Canada or could Canada follow a policy of neutrality?

* Alliance Map Exercise

Appendix #B9 provides a map exercise that requires students to identify the members of NATO and the Warsaw Pact (includes a blank map, list of the countries in the two alliances, and an answer sheet). Students should be asked to place the countries concerned on the map, and then identify which alliance they belong to. They will probably require an atlas to do this. After they have done as much of the exercise as they can, they should be given the answer sheet in order to compare it with their own work. They could then be asked two questions:

- a) How do you explain the fact that the members of the Warsaw Pact form a band around the Soviet Union?
- b) Why are the US and Canada partners in NATO which appears to be mostly a European alliance?

* Factsheets on NATO and the Warsaw Pact

Appendix #B6 includes Factsheets on NATO and the Warsaw Pact. After reading the factsheets, students could be asked to reconsider their answers to the questions in the Alliance Map Exercise (above).

* Factsheet on the NORAD (North American Aerospace Defence Command)

Appendix #B6 includes a Factsheet on NORAD. After doing this reading, the students could be asked to discuss what they think about Canada's relationship with the United States in this defence arrangement. Such questions as "Junior Member or Equal Partner?" and "Who gains the most from NORAD?" could be discussed.

* Decision-Making Exercise on Canada's Commitment to NATO

Students could be asked to make a decision as to whether or not Canada ought to continue its present commitments to NATO. This would be done using a decision-making organizer.

Before attempting to use such an organizer, the teacher should introduce the students to the use of organizers. Appendix #B13 provides an explanation of how an organizer can be drawn up. The teacher might wish to go through this appendix with the students, using a simple example as the focus of the decision. The sheet "Should Canada Stay In or Leave NATO: How this exercise can be presented to students" (Appendix #B12) suggests the various options open to the teacher in presenting this exercise to the students. Options 1) through 4) vary in difficulty. Whichever option is chosen, it is suggested that this be done as a group activity.

This exercise should lead to a lively discussion regarding Canada's present and future commitments to NATO. Students should be encouraged to generate their own criteria for evaluating the options available to Canada as well as generating ideas about the implications of whatever option Canada chooses.

* Reading on "Alliances and Diplomacy"

Appendix #B14 presents a reading which illustrates how alliances can be used as an instrument of diplomacy. After completing the reading, students could be asked how an individual country can ensure its interests are being served when it is part of a larger alliance-to-alliance negotiation.

TOPIC:

Practising and Applying the Concept of Alliances

CONCEPT(S):

Security, Alliance

ACTIVITY TYPE:

Application

OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will master and apply the concept of alliances through activities that permit practice, reinforcement and personalization.

RESOURCES:

- * Appendix #A7: Canada and the Cuban Missile Crisis.
- * Appendix #B15: Instructions on how to contact Soviet students.

STRATEGY:

- * Write a Personal Letter or Diary Entry: Historical Imagination

Students could write a short diary entry or letter about what they would have thought regarding specific historical events related to NATO or NORAD. Students could be asked to write a number of different reactions to the event from the viewpoint of two or three different people. For example, after examining the case of the Cuban Missile Crisis in their textbooks and Appendix #A7, the students could assume the role of three of the following individuals:

- a Canadian teenager;
- an American teenager;
- a Soviet teenager;
- a Canadian Member of Parliament;
- a member of the American government;
- a member of the Soviet government;
- a Soviet freighter captain steaming to Cuba carrying parts for the missiles;
- an American naval captain of a ship that has been sent to stop and search Soviet ships going to Cuba; or
- a Canadian fighter pilot whose squadron has just been put on high alert because of the crisis.

* Expressing Personal Views about the Present

Have students write letters to a fictitious Soviet student concerning present East-West relations. They should also write the reply of the Soviet student. NATO, NORAD and the Warsaw Pact should be discussed in these letters. A fictitious American student could also be added to this activity.

Using Appendix #B15 as a guide, students could contact real Soviet students and exchange views on East-West relations.

* Collage or Mobile

Have students create a collage or mobile that illustrates their views of Canada's role in NATO and/or NORAD.

* Develop a Game

Have students design a game that illustrates the operation of alliances. Students may develop an imaginary situation or an historically accurate one for their game. As an extension activity, they may wish to submit their game to actual play by their peers and then have the players offer evaluative comments.

TOPIC:

Introduction to Deterrence

CONCEPT(S):

Security, Deterrence

ACTIVITY TYPE:

Motivational

OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will realize that the daily patterns of their lives can provide insight into the concept of deterrence as it applies to the behaviour of states.

RESOURCES:

- * Appendix #B16: Instructions for the Shepherd's Fleece game.

STRATEGY:

- * Shepherd's Fleece

The game Shepherd's Fleece can be used to show how mistrust, decision-making, mutual benefit and harm can interact. Appendix #B16 presents both the teacher and student instructions to this game.

Once students have played the game, they could be asked what the Shepherd's Fleece suggests about the way countries interact with each other. Given that the other side can always defect, what is the best strategy to pursue? If mutual cooperation provides the greatest payoff (as suggested by the Shepherd's Fleece), how do you induce such cooperation?

- * Deterrence in Everyday Events

1. Pose a problem to the students such as:
"Some friends try to convince you to skip classes one afternoon so you can get tickets for a concert by your favourite rock band. If you don't get these tickets now, you will miss the show. You are under contract to the Vice Principal of the school. The contract states that if you skip a class, your parents will be called, you will be suspended for three (3) days and you will not be permitted back into class until you have gone through counselling. You will also get a "0" for any tests that you miss during the suspension."

2. Ask student pairs to list all the pros and cons they can think of if they decided to skip under these conditions.
3. Discuss student answers:
 - a) Are the conditions of the contract enough to prevent you from skipping? Why? Why not?
 - b) If they are not sufficient, how much more severe would they have to be to prevent you from skipping?
 - c) What does it take to prevent someone from doing something that you do not want them to?
 - d) Do you think that threatening terrible consequences is a good way of controlling behaviour? Upon what factors does your answer to this question depend?
 - e) In what ways can a country prevent other countries from harming it?
 - f) How does this compare with the way that individuals do the same thing?

TOPIC:

Deterrence: Formulating and Solidifying the Concept

CONCEPT(S):

Security, Deterrence

ACTIVITY TYPE:

Developmental

OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will know the arguments concerning the possession of nuclear weapons as a deterrent to war.
2. Students will know the nature of Canada's position on the issue of the possession and the use of nuclear arms.

RESOURCES:

- * Appendix #B17: Reading on Nuclear Deterrence.
- * Appendix #B18: Impact of a Nuclear Explosion.
- * Appendix #B19: Illustrations of Soviet and American nuclear systems.
- * Appendix #B20: A reading and diagram that explains how the decision to use nuclear weapons is supposed to be made on the part of NATO.

STRATEGY:

- * Reading on Nuclear Deterrence and Group Study of the Destructive Potential of Nuclear Arms
1. Students read Appendix #B17 on nuclear deterrence. A general discussion should follow (see "Cooperative Discussion: the Question of Deterrence" on page 120 for a suggested format for this discussion.) The discussion should focus on nuclear deterrence as a means to ensure security. Students should assess the merits of deterrence as a strategy and might be asked if they would feel more or less secure if total nuclear disarmament were to occur.
 2. Using Jigsaw I (see Appendix #D1 for a detailed explanation) have students research various aspects of the impact of a nuclear explosion. Appendix #B18 can be used as a background reading. Put students in Home Groups of four. Assign each member of the group one of the following topics:

- i) size and destructive capacity of the present nuclear arsenal;
- ii) potential impact of a one-megaton nuclear explosion;
- iii) short-term effects of radiation; and,
- iv) long-term and secondary effects of a nuclear explosion.

Students assigned common topics form Expert Groups where they research their topics using Appendix #B18 and other materials found in the classroom and/or school library. Upon completion of their research, students return to their Home Groups. Each member of the Home Group then teaches their area of expertise to their peers. Students should be encouraged to record the information on a chart using the four headings provided.

(Teachers may wish to use this as an extension exercise whereby the Home Groups use the information gathered to produce a poster, video, pamphlet etc. related to nuclear weapons and their potential for destruction.)

3. Upon completion of the Jigsaw assignment, the teacher again raises the issue of deterrence in light of the new information students have gathered. Students could be asked the following: Considering the potential impact of the use of nuclear weapons, how, if at all, has your attitude towards nuclear deterrence as a security strategy been altered?

* Personal Views

Ask students to explain whether they think nuclear weapons prevent war. If so, how do they do this? If not, why not? What would they replace them with to prevent an attack? Is there any difference between what prevents people from attacking each other and what prevents countries from doing the same thing?

* Cooperative Discussion: The Question of Nuclear Deterrence

The following is a discussion format that encourages students to reflect thoroughly on both sides of an issue. Before beginning, the teacher must stress that the object of the strategy is to get as many arguments and as much evidence as possible "out on the table" so that an informed decision about the issue can be made. To do this, the students will be expected to temporarily take and defend both sides of the issue during the strategy.

- Step 1: Form groups of four. Subdivide each group of four into two pairs. The teacher should probably set up the groups of four to ensure that they are heterogeneous. The pairs might also be designated by the teacher.

- Step 2: Randomly assign one side of the deterrence issue to one pair and the other side to the other pair (i.e. pro and con). Each pair is asked to move to another area in the room to read Appendix #B17 and Appendix #B18 and any other materials that the teacher has prepared on the issue of deterrence. They record key evidence and arguments that could be used in a discussion to support their assigned viewpoint. The teacher should circulate and help students clarify the key concepts in the readings.
- Step 3: Groups of four reassemble and conduct an unstructured discussion on the issue of nuclear deterrence for approximately 5 minutes.
- Step 4: The teacher instructs the pairs to switch viewpoints and to separate for five minutes to prepare arguments for the second side of the issue.
- Step 5: The groups of four reconvene and carry out another somewhat shorter discussion on the issue again, this time having been given the alternative position to defend.
- Step 6: The group carries out a cooperative activity with all the information and arguments they now have. This activity might include:
- * a compromise paper, outlining the group's final consensus on the merits of nuclear deterrence.
 - * a chart organizer that compares the pros and cons of deterrence on student/teacher generated criteria. This chart could be converted to a decision-making organizer by referring students to Appendix #B13 (Eight Steps to Using a Decision-Making Organizer). This type of organizer can be used to help students make personal/group decisions on the issue of deterrence.
 - * a pamphlet that outlines the key issues related to nuclear deterrence.

* The Decision to Use Nuclear Weapons

Students could be asked to consider Appendix #B19. This presents illustrations of various American and Soviet nuclear systems. They could then be given Appendix #B20 which explains the formal procedure NATO has set out in case the decision must be made to use nuclear weapons. A discussion could follow that focuses on the issue of whether the consultation process called for by NATO would work in the event of a nuclear or conventional attack. If there are doubts about the consultation process, what are the implications?

* Canada and Nuclear Arms

Students could research the decision of Canada not to possess nuclear arms. This could be done by groups which would be given the roles of the differing points of view which might have been present at the time of the actual decision. Alternatively, they could be asked to reconsider Canada's decision not to possess nuclear arms, and present the pros and cons. In both cases, the data could ultimately be organized in a chart which compares the various viewpoints under selected categories of comparison or decision-making criteria (depending on the teacher's intent and the students' skill in using organizers). The information collected in this fashion would support a debate or discussion on the wisdom of Canada's decision and the wisdom of maintaining that original course.

* Using Political Cartoons to View Changing East-West Relations and the Impact on Nuclear Deterrence

Using Appendix #D2 as a guide, have students collect a series of political cartoons spanning the past five to eight years which reflect the changing nature of East-West relations. Students should make use of some magazines or newspapers from those times in order to validate their assumptions about the cartoon selected. Students would then be asked to observe the trends which seem to be occurring in the relations between East and West and to speculate as to what we should expect in the next few years. Particular attention should be paid to how these trends might affect the security system between East and West which is largely based on nuclear deterrence, and military alliances.

From the cartoons collected, students could be asked to select the three which best illustrate the trend in East-West relations which they have detected. They would present these cartoons and their analysis to the class.

N.B. This strategy assumes a relatively high degree of political awareness and therefore may require that students visit the public library. The strategy itself could provide an excellent starting point for a study on East-West relations should the teacher wish to develop such a unit.

TOPIC:

Practising and Applying the Concept of Deterrence

CONCEPT(S):

Security, Deterrence

ACTIVITY TYPE:

Application

OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will master and apply the concept of deterrence through activities that permit practice, reinforcement and personalization.

STRATEGY:

* A Role Play

Students could be asked to assume that they are a select committee established by Parliament to re-examine Canada's decision not to possess nuclear weapons. In light of everything they now know about deterrence, would they recommend that Canada accept nuclear arms or continue to reject them? In a brief paper or chart, they could express their view.

* Communicate a Personal View

Ask students to discuss or write their views on the following topics:

- a) Is it deterrence that prevents the two superpowers from attacking each other?
- b) Should other countries possess nuclear weapons so they too can deter attacks against them?
- c) Can countries ensure their security by using threats of total destruction?
- d) Nuclear deterrence has worked. We have had no world war in more than 40 years. Agree or disagree.

* A Newspaper Collection

Have students select examples from the newspaper that illustrate the idea of deterrence. These need not necessarily be examples related to nuclear deterrence, but events or examples that show the use of deterrence in controlling human behaviour. Once a week, students could be asked to present an item of their choice and to explain how it shows the idea of deterrence in action.

TOPIC:

Introduction to Global Interdependence

CONCEPT(S):

Security, Interdependence

ACTIVITY TYPE:

Motivational

OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will realize that patterns of interdependence present in their lives suggest the dynamics involved in the interdependence between countries.

RESOURCES:

- * Materials for a team structure-building exercise (see description below).
- * 5-6 balls of string.

STRATEGY:

* A Scavenger Hunt

Students could be asked to conduct a scavenger hunt of their home to list the origins of a variety of common items (food, clothing, stereo equipment etc.). The origins of the various items could then be placed on a blank map of the world with the help of an atlas. In debriefing, the teacher should try to get students to see that "no country is an island" and there are a great number of ways in which countries need or rely upon each other.

* Team Structure-Building

Put students into teams. Assign the teams the task of building a structure that will be big enough for all the group members to sit in using only the materials that they are given by the teacher. The teacher can select other criteria by which the structure will be evaluated (i.e. safety, appearance, size). Materials such as newsprint, scissors, tape, string and magic markers should then be divided among the groups.

The important point is to make sure that some groups have nearly all they need to make the structure (in some cases too much of one or more resources), while others have few resources (but perhaps a critical resource for some other team). Explain that the groups will have thirty (30) minutes in which to build the structure in any way they wish. This should allow enough time for planning and interaction with other groups.

The debriefing of the game should focus on what the groups did, or could have done to maximize their success. This should then lead to a discussion of the ways in which the exercise compares, or does not compare to the behaviour of countries in the international sphere.

*

The String Game

This is an amusing method of illustrating interdependence. Put students in groups of five. Hand a ball of string to each group and ask them to pass it around the group in such a manner as to interconnect each person in the group. Give each person in the group a number. As you call out specific numbers, instruct the corresponding people in each group to make certain movements (i.e. raise your right hand, bend over, take one step to the left etc.). After about 10 minutes stop the exercise and debrief it. Students should see that every time one person made a move it affected everyone else in the group. What happened when someone made large vs. small moves? This can lead to a general discussion on interdependence.

TOPIC:

Global Interdependence: Formulating and Solidifying the Concept.

CONCEPT(S):

Security, Interdependence

ACTIVITY TYPE:

Developmental

OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will be able to recognize the characteristics of international organizations and transnational organizations.
2. Students will be aware of the effects of interdependence on the global community.

RESOURCES:

- * Appendix #B21: A reading on "Interdependence: The Community of Nations".
- * Appendix #B22: A reading on "The Impact of Interdependence: The Brundtland Report".
- * Appendix #B23: A list of useful numbers and addresses of government agencies, departments and non-governmental organizations.

STRATEGY:

- * Reading: "Interdependence: The Community of Nations"

Appendix #B21 presents a reading on interdependence and its implications for security. Assign the reading and ask students if they have a personal experience which reflects the effect of global interdependence.

- * The United Nations

Students could be referred to their textbooks, the Factsheets on the UN in Appendix #B6 and the reading on the Brundtland Report in Appendix #B22, to find out how the United Nations has tried to enhance the security of individual countries by stressing global interdependence.

- a) Students may wish to analyse the effectiveness of the United Nations under the categories of the goals of foreign policy (i.e. peace and security, social justice, economic development etc.). This leads to the question of whether or not it could achieve the same goals of foreign policy as any individual country and thus act eventually as a form of world government.

- b) Students could assess the validity of a generalization made about the role of the UN: That while it is often disregarded by the big powers, it has nevertheless provided a vital safety valve for international tension. It has allowed the big powers a graceful way out of potentially dangerous situations and provided a means of input in international affairs for small powers.
- c) Students may wish to compare the UN to its predecessor, the League of Nations.

*

Sources of Information

CIDA, External Affairs, and various non-governmental organizations can provide information on the day-to-day impact of global interdependence. Appendix #B23 provides a list of some useful contact numbers and addresses. It may be possible to arrange for guest speakers as well as materials.

TOPIC:

Practising and Applying the Concept of Interdependence

CONCEPT(S):

Security, Interdependence

ACTIVITY TYPE:

Application

OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will master and apply the concept of interdependence through activities that permit practice, reinforcement and personalization.

RESOURCES:

- * Appendix #B6: Factsheets on the United Nations and International Security, and the United Nations and Disarmament.

STRATEGY:

- * A Personal Dependence Inventory

Ask students to list ways in which they are dependent on other individuals, groups and organizations. In another column, ask them to list the various ways in which these people are also dependent on the student.

- * Canada: Past, Present and Future

Have students consult their textbooks and other sources to gather information about Canada's involvement in international organizations such as the United Nations, the Commonwealth and la francophonie. From these sources, students could be asked to summarize for the rest of the class the nature of Canada's approach to interdependence in the world. They could then offer suggestions for Canada's future involvement in world events.

- * A Newspaper Clippings Collection

Students could clip items from the newspaper that are related to the concept of interdependence. These could be presented as a bulletin board project that illustrates forms of international interdependence.

* The United Nations: Applying the concepts of security and interdependence

Hand out the Factsheet on the United Nations and International Security from Appendix #B6. This reading gives an overview of the history, structure and function of the United Nations. The teacher might also want to refer to the factsheet on the United Nations and Disarmament to supplement this initial reading. Teachers could choose among the following questions to develop a guide sheet for this/these reading(s) for their students:

1. How does the development of the UN reflect concerns about international security and an appreciation of interdependence in the world?
2. [Assuming the balance of power lesson has been covered.] In what ways does the UN reflect the tension between the ideas of balance of power and interdependence?
3. Do you think it possible that the UN could become the basis for a world government? Why or why not?
4. If you were the Prime Minister of Canada, under what circumstances would you give up some of Canada's independence and power to a world government?

TOPIC:

Introduction to Balance of Power

CONCEPT(S):

Security, Balance of Power

ACTIVITY TYPE:

Motivational

OBJECTIVES:

1. Through a simulation, students will recognize that the dynamics implicit in a balance of power operate in a recognizable way in their present lives.

RESOURCES:

- * Appendix #B24: A scenario for a group role play involving the concept of the balance of power.

STRATEGY:

1. Refer students to Appendix #B24. This presents a scenario in which an imbalance of power has developed in a highly competitive and socially tense neighbourhood. Students form groups and take specific roles in the scenario. They are asked to brainstorm a list of possible courses of action for the various actors to take in reaction to the new circumstances. List these and then discuss them.
2. Suggested discussion questions:
 - a) What could the various groups in the neighbourhood do about the new circumstances?
 - b) What are the possible consequences of each of these proposed actions?
 - c) If you were asked to ensure that the neighbourhood stayed relatively peaceful, what course of action would you recommend? Why?
 - d) What might happen if someone from another neighbourhood, whom both sides knew, tried to settle the dispute?
 - e) Which solutions are least likely to work? Why?
 - f) The gang in the neighbourhood that suddenly became very powerful did so by getting and using more destructive weapons than anyone else. In what ways, other than arms, can a country acquire greater power than it had before?
 - g) How do the actions taken by countries in the world compare with the actions of the gangs in the neighbourhood? In what ways are they similar? In what ways are they different?

TOPIC:

Balance of Power: Formulating and Solidifying the Concept

CONCEPT(S):

Balance of Power

ACTIVITY TYPE:

Developmental

OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will understand that many factors play a role in creating a balance of power.
2. Students will understand the meaning of "balance of power" and will be aware of its impact on the pursuit of international peace and security.

RESOURCES:

- * Appendix #B25: A list of items that give countries power.
- * Appendix #B26: A reading on the Balance of Power.
- * Appendix #B27: A reading on "Views of International Relations".

STRATEGY:

- * What Gives Countries Power?

Hand out Appendix #B25 which lists examples of things that can give a country power. Students in groups are told that they can have only three of these items for their country. Which three would they take? Why? How much power does possessing these items give them? Continue this discussion until the nature of the power of each item on the list has been clarified for the students. This list could be used to develop a classification scheme for types of power (e.g. military, economic etc.).

- * Reading on the Balance of Power

Appendix #B26 provides a reading on the balance of power. Teachers should note that the "balance of power" places a different emphasis on power than does the idea of global interdependence. Those favouring a balance of power see the world as a hard and competitive place in which only the strong survive. Thus the emphasis is on power and the use of power. Those viewing the world as interdependent do not believe power is a sufficient guarantee of security. Assuming students have read the reading on interdependence (Appendix #B21),

they can be asked to compare that reading to the reading on the balance of power. They could be asked the following questions:

- a) Does interdependence or balance of power best describe the way you understand the behaviour of states in their relations with each other?
- b) If you were the Minister for External Affairs for your country, would you recommend a policy which sought to promote interdependence, or would you seek to maintain a balance of power? What specific things would you do to put your policy into effect?

Appendix #B27, Views of International Relations, can be given to the students to help them in their comparison of the two views.

TOPIC:

Practising and Applying the Concept of Balance of Power

CONCEPT(S):

Security, Balance of Power

ACTIVITY TYPE:

Application

OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will master and apply the concept of the balance of power through activities that permit practice, reinforcement and personalization.

RESOURCES:

- * Appendix #B28: Three (3) case studies of post-1945 events that illustrate the concept of balance of power.

STRATEGY:

- * Case Studies

Hand out Appendix #B28. These case studies can be used to have students practice their understanding of the concept of a balance of power. The following questions could be used to construct a research guide sheet for the students:

- A.
 - i) What sort of power was used by each of the actors in this case?
 - ii) To what degree were the various actors in this case attempting to maintain or increase their power in order to defend their interests?
 - iii) How does the idea of a "balance of power" relate to this case?
 - iv) How did the situation affect the relative power of each of the actors?
 - v) In the end, was a balance of power achieved? Upon what do you base your conclusions?
- B. Should the teacher wish to make current the cases studied, s/he might ask students to assess the balance of power in each of the cases as it exists today.

- * Seeing the Connections Between Concepts

Ask students to explain how the concepts of alliance and/or deterrence are illustrative of the idea of balance of power. If these concepts have not been taught, specific examples could be listed and used instead.

* Develop a Game

Ask students to create a game to illustrate the idea of balance of power. They may choose any period in history or the contemporary world as the context for the game.

TOPIC:

Extending Knowledge about Security

CONCEPT(S):

Security, Alliance, Deterrence, Interdependence, Balance of Power

ACTIVITY TYPE:

Extension

RESOURCES:

- * Appendix #B6: Factsheet on the Military use of Space.
- * Appendix #B28: Three case studies on the balance of power.
- * Appendix #B29: A map that identifies those countries that have nuclear weapons, as well as the nuclear weapons status of other countries.
- * Appendix #B30: Addresses of Canadian Government officials and Canadian political parties.
- * Appendix #B31: United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

STRATEGY (LISTED BY CONCEPT):**A. SECURITY**

* Role Play

Students could take the position of a hypothetical country that feels threatened by the military strength of a neighbour. They should design a strategy for reducing the threat complete with a plan for securing public acceptance of these means. This could then be shared and evaluated by the rest of the class.

* Bulletin Board Displays

Have students create a bulletin board display related to the concept of security (i.e. to illustrate interdependence, alliances, balance of power, deterrence etc.). This could be located in the school halls so as to reach a wider audience.

* Write a Skit

Choose a current event or one that is hypothetical and involves a decision made by Canada that was designed to increase Canada's national security. Have students write, direct and perform a skit portraying a meeting of the Prime Minister and other involved parties in which they determine a course of action that will increase Canadian security in this case. Have the rest of the class react to actions of all of the role players.

* Writing Letters

Have students write to the major political leaders and parties and ask them to send a statement of their policies regarding Canadian security. Addresses for this activity are provided in Appendix #B30. Replies and the originals could be published in a student or local newspaper.

B. ALLIANCES

* "What If?"

Ask students to plan and produce a product that would illustrate their view on one of the following questions:

- a) What if Canada left NATO or NORAD or both?
- b) What if the Warsaw Pact was disbanded?
- c) What if the arms race continues at its present rate?

Students should brainstorm the likely consequences of these developments. They should also discuss the likelihood of these events coming to pass. The results could then be presented to the rest of the class for discussion and debate.

* Writing Letters

Have students write letters to their Members of Parliament in which students express their views regarding Canada's commitments to NATO and NORAD. The replies and copies of the originals should be shared with the class or published in the school or local paper.

C. DETERRENCE

* Maps and the Future

Appendix #B29 presents a map that identifies those states which have nuclear weapons, and also indicates the nuclear weapons status of other countries. This could be used to begin a discussion with the rest of the class about the future success of nuclear deterrence as a means of preventing wars. What, if anything should be done about this situation? What role, if any, should Canada play? What role does Canada play?

* Debate

In teams, develop arguments and debate the issue: "War is Obsolete". Invite other classes to watch and participate. As an alternative, you could also invite someone who is an expert in the field of peace and security issues to ask questions of the debaters and to offer evaluative comments.

* Military use of Space: A Research Study

Appendix #B6 presents a Factsheet on the Military use of Space. Using the Factsheet, and other sources, students could research various aspects relating to the military use of space. The end product could take a variety of forms including audio-visual, oral, written, illustrations, collages, etc. The results of the student's research could be presented to the class for discussion or debate. Subheadings:

- i) The military's use of satellites in space; ii) Weapons in space; and, iii) Canada's role in the military use of space.

* Organize a Panel Discussion

Have students organize (with the help and advice of the teacher) a panel discussion on the issue of deterrence. Invite a mix of speakers which will illustrate the range of views on this issue. Invite the class or arrange an assembly for the school so that other students can ask questions of the speakers.

* Brainstorming Alternatives to Nuclear Deterrence

Ask students to develop a list of ways to ensure that Canada is not threatened or attacked by another country. The ideas on the list could then be classified as either "plus", "minus" or "interesting". This list could serve as the basis for in-depth research into the question of alternatives to nuclear deterrence.

Ask students engaged in such a study to decide under what circumstances each of the alternative methods would be most appropriate. Lastly, ask them to speculate if their suggestions could be applied equally by all countries. The results of the study could be presented and evaluated either by other students or by individuals involved in the deterrence issue (military, politicians, non-governmental organizations etc.).

D. INTERDEPENDENCE

* Develop an International Code of Ethics/Laws

Have students develop a code of conduct or ethics, or an international Bill of Rights for people and countries. To illustrate the challenge of such an exercise, students could be shown Appendix #B31.

* Find out Who's Involved

Have students research an organization that works to stress the interdependence of peoples. Have students find out what the organization does and what kind of people are involved. Following this, have the student write a description of their findings. This could be read to the rest of the class and discussed. It could also

be published along with a picture of the student in the local newspaper. This kind of activity can be expanded to involve the entire class or the whole school.

* An Interdependence Survey

Have students design a survey to indicate the degree to which high school students see the world as an interdependent one. They should then poll a sample of their school's student population and share the results with the rest of the class.

* An Art Show

Have a group of students prepare a photo and art display on the subject of interdependence. This could be done in the form of a slide presentation. It could be presented at the school or for a community organization.

E. BALANCE OF POWER

* Can it be Explained in Another Way?

Have students reexamine and conduct further research into any of the cases found in Appendix #B28. Given this research, students answer the question: "Does the balance of power best explain the behaviour of the states in this case, or, can it be explained in another way?" Students should be prepared to defend their conclusions before their peers.

* So What are the Alternatives?

Alternative to balance of power: World Government? Have students design the organization of a world government of the future. The design should clearly illustrate how such a government would make decisions. The design should be presented to and evaluated by the rest of the class.

-- This design could be compared to the design of the United Nations. This could lead to a discussion of whether or not this body might eventually play the role of a world government.

-- Students should also explore whether they believe such an idea as world government is workable. What circumstances, if any, might lead to its formation? If it were created, would world government enhance security?

* A Message to the Stars

Have students design a message that would be carried beyond our solar system. It would state their view of how our world operates. The teacher may or may not want to show students the message created by NASA for its probes. Students could "engrave" their designs on bristol board and display these somewhere in the school. A "reactions" book can be left near the display to collect the responses of students to the product.

APPENDIX B1

HOW THREATENED WOULD YOU FEEL?

Read each of the situations below. How threatened by each situation would you be? Use the following scale and enter the number that best describes your feelings in the blank provided before each situation.

Scale:

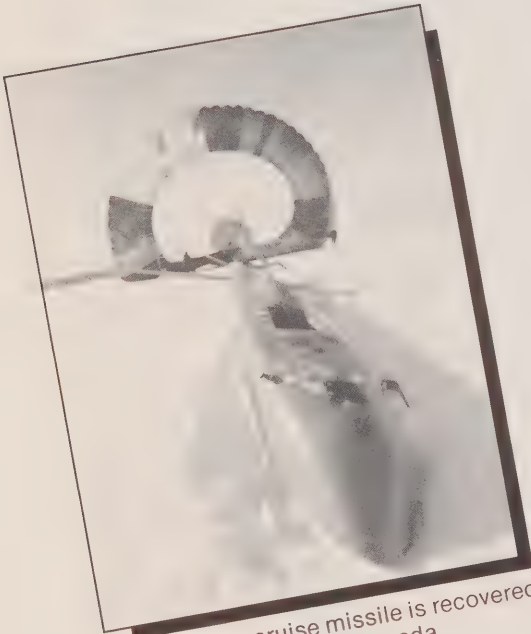
- 5 = Extremely threatening. This would make me feel extremely insecure.
- 4 = Very threatening. This would make me feel very insecure.
- 3 = Moderately threatening. This would make me feel somewhat insecure.
- 2 = Slightly threatening. This would make me feel only a little insecure.
- 1 = Not at all threatening. I would feel totally secure.

Situations:

- _____ One of your parents loses their job.
- _____ Someone in the street you are walking down pulls out a gun starts shooting it in the air.
- _____ Someone who always helped you to prepare for tests and exams moves away.
- _____ A group of tough youths is hanging around on the street corner that you must cross in order to get home.
- _____ You hear someone breaking into your house one night just as you are drifting off to sleep.
- _____ You are told by your boss that new machines will be installed in the office immediately. You will have a week to learn how to use them or you will lose your job.
- _____ You are in history class when there is a call from the Vice Principal's office requesting that you come to the main office immediately.
- _____ Your boy or girl friend is seen talking and laughing with a good looking member of the opposite sex whom you have never seen before.
- _____ You hear that someone you really wanted to be friends with thinks you are a loser.

APPENDIX B2

El Salvador's military accused over killings



An American cruise missile is recovered after being tested in Canada.



Acid rain slowly destroys Canadian forests.

Major issues divide superpowers on pact to cut nuclear arsenals

PHOTO CREDITS

ACID RAIN: Ottawa Citizen

CRUISE MISSILE: S.S.C. Photo Centre A.S.C.

APPENDIX B3



APPENDIX B4 SECURITY

One of the greatest concerns of states, if not the greatest concern is security. The term 'security' is often used by leaders and other people, but what does it mean? Security can be thought of as safety. To be safe means to be safe from something. To be safe walking down the street at night means to be safe from robbery or attack. To be safe riding in a boat on a lake means to be safe from drowning should the boat capsize or you fall into the water. Security in international relations means to be safe from threats to the state. These threats often come from other states. Two questions are associated with security:

- 1) What factors threaten a state?
- 2) What must be done to be safe from threats to a state?

Threats to National Security

Actions in international relations are frequently taken in order to deal with 'threats to national security'. While most people will agree that such threats must be dealt with, there is not always agreement on what those threats are.

Some people view threats to national security as actions which will lead to, or enable an opponent to invade and occupy one's state and install its own system of government. From this point of view, the threat could take several forms. For instance:

- 1) One's opponent builds a large and strong army.
- 2) One's opponent increases the number of allies it has around the world.
- 3) One's opponent develops a new weapon system which is particularly dangerous and effective.

All of these developments can be seen as a threat to national security. If they are not dealt with, some would argue that you are risking the independence and sovereignty of your state.

The above is a military definition of security, but there are others. Some view national security as a very broad concept which goes beyond the threat of invasion or military aggression. This definition views threats to national security in terms of the ability of a state to advance the interests of its people. Thinking of security in this way leads one to see the following as threats:

- 1) Environmental pollution and the failure to deal with it leads to the destruction of resources and a decline of living standards.
- 2) The possession of weapons of mass destruction (such as nuclear weapons) could destroy countries completely.
- 3) Famine and an increasing birthrate threaten to impoverish populations.

- 4) The continued expenditure of money on weapons drains resources away from more productive uses, threatening the health of the economy.

What is to be done about it?

Given that people think of security as meaning different things, it is not surprising that different solutions are suggested for the problem. Depending on what you believe the threat to be, you might recommend the following measures:

- 1) Increase the size of the armed forces and acquire nuclear weapons.
- 2) Promote the idea of a world government.
- 3) Seek out allies who will aid in your defence.
- 4) Reduce money spent on the military and use this to improve the national economy.
- 5) Disarm completely.
- 6) Seek to improve the conditions of those living in poor countries.
- 7) Try to expand contacts with people in all countries.
- 8) Begin negotiations with your enemy in order to reduce tensions.

All of these measures reflect a different notion of what the security problem is in the first place, and how best to deal with it. The way a state or individual chooses to deal with the question of security also reflects an emphasis on competitive or cooperative solutions.

APPENDIX B5

CANADIAN SECURITY: THE DEFENCE WHITE PAPER

In June 1987, the Government of Canada released a White Paper on national defence, the first such paper since August 1970. A White Paper outlines the government's proposed policy on a particular issue. It also presents the government's assumptions and reasoning behind the policies it will pursue.

In the 1987 White Paper, the government argued that Canada exists in an environment dominated by the rivalry between the East and the West. The Soviet Union is described as intent on "mould[ing] the world in its own image." Central to Canada's security is a free and secure Western Europe. The most serious direct threat to Canada is defined as a Soviet nuclear attack on North America. Another threat to Canada is the passage of potentially hostile foreign submarines in Canadian Arctic waters.

To deal with these security concerns, the White Paper made numerous proposals. It reemphasized Canada's commitment to the North American Aerospace Defence Command (NORAD) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Western Europe is described as the key to the balance of power between the East and the West and a free and secure Western Europe is linked to a free and secure Canada. The paper also reaffirmed Canada's support for nuclear deterrence. Canada contributes to deterrence by helping to defend the retaliatory nuclear forces of the United States, mostly through Canada's participation in NORAD.

The White Paper also called for the purchase of 10 to 12 nuclear-powered submarines in order to patrol the Arctic, Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Canadian troops in Europe should be concentrated in West Germany rather than being committed to West Germany and Norway as in the past. Noting that defence spending, as a percentage of the federal budget has decreased over the years, the White Paper recommended a steady and predictable funding programme for the future. This spending on defence was estimated to total at least \$183 billion over 15 years.

The release of the White Paper led to a lively debate over defence issues. Most of the debate concerned the proposal to acquire nuclear-powered submarines, and the arguments about Soviet capacities and intentions.

Critics charged that nuclear-powered submarines are too costly and would consume too high a proportion of the defence budget. They also claimed that the submarines would harm Canada's efforts to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons, by setting the bad precedent of a non-nuclear weapon state acquiring nuclear technology for military purposes. The government maintained that nuclear propulsion makes these submarines more cost-effective than diesel-electric submarines, and would result in a more balanced naval fleet between surface and sub-surface vessels.

The government's analysis of Soviet intentions was also questioned. Some argued that not enough attention was paid to changing developments in the Soviet Union and this resulted in an analysis which was out of step with the times. In contrast, others applauded the White Paper's portrait of Soviet intentions as accurate and realistic.

By 1989, however, the positive developments in East-West relations, and the costs of the programmes outlined in the White Paper led a change in the government's approach. The 1989 budget postponed and reduced many of the spending proposals found in the 1987 White Paper. The most prominent change was the decision not to buy nuclear-powered submarines. Later in 1989, Prime Minister Mulroney admitted that the analysis of East-West relations found in the White Paper was out of date.

APPENDIX B6

Factsheets

Factsheet

6

THE WARSAW PACT (WARSAW TREATY ORGANIZATION)

Introduction

The Warsaw Pact (also known as the Warsaw Treaty Organization) is an alliance of the Soviet Union and most of the states of Eastern Europe. An alliance can be defined as a group which pursues common interests. In international relations, an alliance is usually characterized by the pursuit of common military interests.

The Warsaw Pact was formed on 14 May 1955 in Warsaw, Poland, with the signing of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance. The original members of the Warsaw Pact were: Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and the Soviet Union. The German Democratic Republic (East Germany) formally joined in January 1956, and Albania formally withdrew from the alliance in 1968. In 1985, the Warsaw Treaty was renewed for another 20 years.

Roots of the Warsaw Pact

When World War II ended, the Soviets kept their forces in most of the countries they occupied in Eastern Europe. The presence of Soviet troops helped to make possible the rise of communist parties in these states. The exceptions were Czechoslovakia, Albania and Yugoslavia. The Soviet Army left Czechoslovakia before the end of 1945 and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia did not take power until February 1948. In Albania, the Communists took power in 1944

without Albania ever being occupied by the Soviets. The Yugoslav Communists came to power under the leadership of Joseph Broz-Tito with minimal Soviet assistance. Tito split with Soviet leader Joseph Stalin in 1948, and Yugoslavia never joined the Warsaw Pact.

Between 1945 and 1949, the Soviets signed numerous 'treaties of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance' with the states in Eastern Europe. The East European states also signed such treaties with each other. These treaties strengthened Soviet control of Eastern Europe even before the Warsaw Pact was formed in 1955. Another factor contributing to Soviet control was the overwhelming influence held by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union over local East European communist parties.

There are different explanations for Soviet behaviour in Eastern Europe after World War II. Some argue that the Soviets sought to expand their power and influence worldwide, and that their control of Eastern Europe was the first step in this process. A second explanation is that by creating states favourable to them, the Soviets sought to put a defensive 'buffer zone' of friendly states between themselves and Western Europe, particularly West Germany.

Creation of the Warsaw Pact

The Warsaw Treaty claims that the treaty was a necessary measure to

safeguard the security of the peaceable European States and to preserve the peace of Europe. Scholars have suggested some other reasons for the creation of the Warsaw Pact:

- The Warsaw Pact was a reaction to NATO's (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) 1954 decision to encourage West Germany to join NATO. The Warsaw Treaty claimed that this event increased the danger of war.
- At the time of this death in 1953, Soviet leader Joseph Stalin ruled the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe with near absolute power. The new Soviet leadership may have viewed the Warsaw Pact as a way to replace Stalin's personal control over Eastern Europe.
- The Warsaw Pact would give the Soviets the political weight of an alliance to counter the political weight of NATO.

Structure

The Warsaw Treaty established the Political Consultative Committee as the most important political-military body of the Warsaw Pact. The Political Consultative Committee itself established a Combined Command of Warsaw Pact forces. These forces are led by the Commander in Chief, who has always been a Soviet officer.

During the first five years of its existence, the Political Consultative Committee met only four times. In

addition it was not until 1961 that the Warsaw Pact carried out a military exercise bringing together troops from its various members. The armed forces of Eastern Europe were under the control of the Soviet Union and when important decisions were taken, such as the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, the Warsaw Pact Combined Command played little role. The dominant position of the Soviet Union in the Warsaw Pact has meant that, until recently, the decision-making bodies of the Warsaw Pact have presented more the semblance of involvement by all members, than the reality of participation.

Hungary 1956 and Czechoslovakia 1968

Over the years, the Warsaw Pact has had internal difficulties which have led to invasions of Warsaw Pact states by other Warsaw Pact states. These cases occurred in Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968.

In October 1956, the Soviet Union sent the Red Army into Hungary to end a popular uprising. This came after the Hungarian government had begun to respond to demands for political change, and also announced that Hungary would withdraw from the Warsaw Pact. No other Warsaw Pact members participated in the invasion.

In Czechoslovakia in 1968, it was the government itself which initiated reforms in the country's political economic and cultural life. Other Warsaw Pact members became concerned that these reforms threatened communism in Czechoslovakia and would lead the Czechs to abandon Warsaw Pact policies. In August Warsaw Pact forces invaded Czechoslovakia. Only Romania did not participate in the invasion. The Soviets later declared that when communism was threatened, the Soviets had a right to intervene in another communist state's affairs. This became known as the

Brezhnev Doctrine, named after then Soviet General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev.

The cases of Hungary and Czechoslovakia are examples of how the Warsaw Pact has served to enforce internal control within Eastern Europe. It has also served to increase the links between the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe through such things as joint military exercises, meetings of Warsaw Pact officials, and the coordination of security policies and proposals. For example, early on, the Warsaw Pact began to call for a Europe-wide security conference. Such a conference eventually took place in the form of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe which met in 1973. The Conference led to the signing of the Helsinki Final Act in 1975 on agreed measures for cooperation between East and West.

The Ongoing Debate

From 1975 to 1985, there was little change in Warsaw Pact policies, but in May 1987 the Pact announced a number of new policies and proposals. It called upon NATO to join in the reduction of conventional forces and to support the creation of nuclear and chemical weapon-free zones in Europe, based on the principle of military sufficiency which emphasizes defensive forces, not offensive forces.

In December 1988, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev spoke before the United Nations. In that speech, Gorbachev promised to withdraw 5,000 tanks from Eastern Europe, reduce the number of Soviet troops by 500,000, reduce the number of artillery systems in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union by 8,500 and reduce the number of combat aircraft by 800. Some in the West believe that the leaders of the Warsaw Pact now recognize that war in the nuclear age is unrealistic and that they seek more cooperation instead of confrontation.

Others believe that these Warsaw Pact policies are meant to make NATO let down its guard and reduce its defence spending. However, the NATO governments have welcomed the measures outlined in Gorbachev's speech as an important step towards creating a balance of forces in Europe.

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Factsheet

9

UNITED NATIONS AND DISARMAMENT

Introduction

When the United Nations (UN) was founded in 1945, it was hoped that its creation would "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war." The maintenance of international peace and security is one of the major principles behind the United Nations and one of the ways this goal is to be pursued is through disarmament. Disarmament means the reduction and elimination of arms. Since 1945, the UN has developed extensive "disarmament machinery," a term which refers to the various UN bodies that deal with the question of disarmament. The more important of these are outlined below.

General Assembly

All states which are members of the United Nations have a seat in the General Assembly. Each state has one vote. The General Assembly is a deliberative body. This means it cannot enforce its decisions on states. Under the Charter of the United Nations, the General Assembly is given the power to consider "principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments." The General Assembly can debate issues, establish principles, make recommendations, and direct that research studies be carried out, but it does not negotiate treaties. The General Assembly expresses its views through resolutions. In 1946, the first resolution ever passed by the General Assembly called for the elimination of atomic weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, and the peaceful use of atomic energy. While this resolution did not lead to the elimination of such weapons, it clearly showed that the international community consid-

ered this issue to be extremely important.

Since the first disarmament resolution in 1946, the General Assembly has passed hundreds on this subject. In some cases, resolutions are passed which contain conflicting ideas and recommendations. In addition, states sometimes abstain from voting, or vote against some resolutions. These factors have reduced the impact of General Assembly resolutions on the course of disarmament initiatives.

Special Sessions of the United Nations

When the members of the United Nations view a particular issue as urgent, they may decide to hold a Special Session of the General Assembly. Normally, the General Assembly considers many issues each year. When a Special Session is held, the Assembly considers only the particular issue at hand. To date, the UN has held three Special Sessions on Disarmament (UNSSODs), in 1978, 1982 and 1988. The end product of UNSSOD I in 1978 was a 129-paragraph statement called the Final Document. The Final Document declared that security required an end to the arms race and a reduction in armaments. The final objective of the international community was stated to be "general and complete disarmament under effective international control." (This objective was first set out by the General Assembly in 1959.) Since 1978, the Final Document of UNSSOD I has served as a yardstick to measure movement in disarmament efforts. In 1982, UNSSOD II was unable to move much beyond the Final Document of UNSSOD I, and in

1988, UNSSOD III could not agree on any final statement at all.

First Committee

The First Committee is one of the seven main committees of the General Assembly. Since UNSSOD I, its sole task has been to consider questions of disarmament and international security matters. All members of the United Nations have a seat on the First Committee, and decisions are made by majority vote. The First Committee recommends draft resolutions to the General Assembly. This means that much of the work of drafting UN disarmament resolutions and gathering support for them occurs at this stage. The First Committee meets in the fall of each year.

Disarmament Commission

The Disarmament Commission has existed in its present form since UNSSOD I. All members of the United Nations have a seat on the Disarmament Commission, although unlike the General Assembly or First Committee, decisions are usually taken by consensus, not by vote. Consensus means that there must be general agreement from all participants; a simple majority is not enough. The Disarmament Commission considers matters of disarmament and makes recommendations to the General Assembly. It also has the job of following up the decisions of special sessions on disarmament. Its work often overlaps with that of the First Committee. The Commission meets in the spring of each year.

Ad Hoc Committees

An ad hoc committee is established to deal with a particular issue

as it arises. For instance, in 1972, the General Assembly established the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean to study a proposal to make the region a zone of peace.

Department for Disarmament Affairs

The Department for Disarmament Affairs is a part of the UN Secretariat, or civil service. The Department carries out research on disarmament matters, and prepares numerous publications. It also provides administrative support for UN disarmament conferences and bodies.

Conference on Disarmament

The Conference on Disarmament (CD) has existed in various forms since 1959. Its current form was established by the General Assembly at UNSSOD I. The Conference on Disarmament meets in Geneva each year for approximately six months. The CD has 40 members, including the five nuclear weapon states (US, USSR, China, France, United Kingdom). Unlike the UN machinery described above, the Conference on Disarmament is a forum for negotiations among its participants. The goal of these negotiations is to produce treaties on particular disarmament issues. Recently, the CD has spent much of its time on a treaty to ban the production of chemical weapons. The CD reports to the General Assembly and receives its budget from the United Nations, but it establishes its own agenda and is not bound by United Nations decisions.

Conclusions

Despite the many resolutions and speeches in the United Nations which have stressed the importance of disarmament, these words have not generally been matched by actions. While there are numerous reasons for this, several are particularly worth noting.

As seen above, UN negotiations leading to treaties on arms reductions and disarmament are undertaken only at the Conference on Disarmament. When two or more states decide it is in their interests to

negotiate a disarmament treaty, they have tended to do so among themselves, outside the UN forums. For instance, the recent treaty on eliminating intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF Treaty) was negotiated by the United States and the Soviet Union; the UN was not involved. This was also the case for both Strategic Arms Limitation Treaties (SALT I & II). In these cases, the only states directly involved in the negotiations were the possessors of the weapons being discussed. While all states have an interest in the outcome of such negotiations, the principal states often prefer to deal directly with each other alone.

The resolutions and principles adopted by the General Assembly may sometimes contradict each other, or the issues they address may overlap. Because of this, it would be difficult to translate such resolutions into treaties. Resolutions or statements that are accepted by consensus (as was the case, for example, at UNSSOD I and II), also often contain language that is so general that it would be difficult to turn it into treaties, which need to be clear and precise.

The United Nations does not lend itself easily to treaty negotiations. With almost all the states in the world taking part in most UN disarmament bodies, so many opinions and approaches are brought to bear on disarmament issues that agreement among all is nearly impossible. It was for this reason that the one component of UN disarmament machinery that does negotiate treaties, the Conference on Disarmament, was set up with only a limited but representative membership. When the international community does manage to agree on a disarmament issue or measure through the UN, that agreement carries considerable weight.

In the disarmament field, the UN has served most often as a forum to present new ideas and approaches to disarmament and to give those ideas legitimacy, recognition, and, especially when agreed by consensus, the weight of world opinion. For instance, the former Canadian prime minister, Pierre Trudeau,

took the opportunity of UNSSOD I to call for a "strategy of suffocation" of the nuclear arms race. This strategy suggested measures which would limit qualitative improvements in nuclear arms and cut off the nuclear arms race at its source.

Especially for states which do not participate in the arms talks carried out by major powers, the UN provides opportunities to put forward concerns and opinions on disarmament. At the same time, UN studies and research can often bring international attention to disarmament issues.

The efforts of the United Nations in the field of disarmament are a reminder of the importance of disarmament to the entire international community, and also of the difficulties in achieving progress in the limitation and reduction of arms.

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Factsheet

10

NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY (NPT)

Introduction

Efforts to stop the proliferation (spread) of nuclear weapons stem from worries that the greater the number of states that possess these weapons, the more likely they are to be used on purpose or accidentally. In addition, if nuclear weapons proliferate, it will be all the more difficult to reduce and eliminate them.

It is generally agreed that increasing the number of states which possess nuclear weapons will not ensure security, and in fact, will make the world more dangerous. Because of this, since the time of the first atom bomb, the international community has attempted to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons.

After World War II, the US, UK and Canada proposed the creation of a United Nations Atomic Energy Commission as the best means of ending the use of nuclear technology for weapons, while maintaining nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

The United Nations picked up on this theme in its first General Assembly resolution in 1946, and ever since has sought to end the spread of nuclear weapons and encourage disarmament, while continuing to promote the peaceful use of nuclear energy.

In 1959, the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution expressing

concern about proliferation. It put forward the idea that those states which possessed nuclear weapons (nuclear-weapon states) should not give control of such weapons to states not possessing them (non-nuclear-weapon states). It suggested that this idea should be part of an international treaty.

A resolution in 1965 further built up the elements of a potential treaty by adding that nuclear-weapon states should have obligations to non-nuclear-weapon states, and any treaty should be considered as a step towards the greater goal of general and complete disarmament.

Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)

The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons was signed in 1968 and more states have ratified, or agreed to, this arms control treaty than any other; almost 140 states to date. Five specific articles are the core of the treaty:

- *Article I:* Nuclear-weapon states are called upon not to transfer nuclear weapons or control of such weapons to non-nuclear-weapon states. They are also not to encourage or assist such states in acquiring their own nuclear weapons.
- *Article II:* Non-nuclear-weapon states are not to acquire or manufacture nuclear weapons, or take control over such weapons.
- *Article III:* Non-nuclear-weapon states will accept the safeguards of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) on their nuclear activities. Safeguards refers to the measures and procedures the IAEA uses to ensure that nuclear technology and material is not being used for weapons purposes.
- *Article IV:* All states signing the treaty are to do their utmost to assist in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.
- *Article VI:* All states signing the treaty are to carry out negotiations with the purpose of ending the arms race and leading to a treaty on general and complete disarmament.

Every five years after the treaty became legally binding (which was in 1970), review conferences have been held to consider the operation of the treaty. Unlike most arms control treaties, the NPT has a fixed duration of 25 years; the treaty is not indefinite.

In 1995, the parties which have signed the treaty will meet to decide whether or not to extend the treaty

indefinitely, or for a fixed period of time only. The upcoming 1990 review conference will be an important measure of what can be expected to happen in 1995.

The Debate over the NPT

Previous review conferences of the NPT have revealed areas of disagreement among those states which have signed the treaty. In addition, some nuclear-weapon states, and states suspected of having built, or having the capability to build nuclear weapons, have not signed the treaty.

Five states are known as nuclear-weapon states: United States, Soviet Union, United Kingdom, France and China. Neither France nor China has signed the NPT. Although France did not sign the treaty, it declared that it would act as if it had. China initially rejected internationally accepted non-proliferation measures, but it has changed that policy. Its more recent policy is that it will not assist non-nuclear-weapon states in acquiring nuclear weapons and it will require that the safeguard measures of the International Atomic Energy Agency apply on all its nuclear exports.

States which are thought to have nuclear weapons, or the capability to build them are known as 'near'-nuclear-weapon states. In this category are Argentina, Brazil, India, Israel, Pakistan and South Africa. In 1974, India exploded a nuclear device, but it is the only near-nuclear-weapon state that is known to have done so.

Criticism of the NPT, from both those who have signed the treaty and those who have not, centres on several particular issues. It is often argued that the treaty discriminates against non-nuclear-weapon states. Nuclear-weapon states are allowed to

maintain nuclear weapons while others are not allowed to acquire them. In addition, non-nuclear-weapon states must allow their nuclear facilities to be inspected by the IAEA, while nuclear-weapon states do not.

Linked to this argument is the criticism that nuclear-weapon states have not done enough to fulfil Article VI which requires them to negotiate an end to the arms race and to eventually disarm. This link between preventing the spread of nuclear weapons on the one hand, and the reduction and elimination of existing nuclear weapons on the other, is often called the 'bargain' of the NPT.

The claim that this bargain has not been kept was a major point of disagreement at the 1980 review conference. Until the nuclear powers take serious disarmament measures, some states argue that they must keep open the option of building their own nuclear weapons.

Canada and the NPT

Canada played a role in establishing the International Atomic Energy Agency in 1956, and negotiating the Non-Proliferation Treaty. It was the first state with the knowledge to build nuclear weapons to decide not to acquire them. Canada has long warned of the dangers of nuclear proliferation and considers signing the NPT a measure of each states' commitment to disarmament.

The device that India exploded used plutonium produced by a nuclear research reactor that India had purchased from Canada. After this event, Canada changed its policy on nuclear exports so that only states which have signed the NPT, or accepted full-scope IAEA safeguards on their nuclear facilities can purchase Canadian nuclear technology

and materials. Canada has also drawn up specific Canadian requirements which must be accepted by states seeking Canadian nuclear imports.

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Factsheet

11

THE MILITARY USE OF SPACE

Introduction

Just as the military has made use of land, sea and air to carry out its operations, so too does it make use of space. The use of space by the military falls into two broad categories: the use of space for systems other than weapons, and the direct use of space for weapons purposes.

Non-Weapons Uses

There are many military missions that do not involve weapons. For example, gathering information (reconnaissance) and communicating over long distances are important tasks for the military in times of both peace and war. Recently, the use of space has become essential to carry out these tasks. The systems used are comprised of satellites in orbit above the earth, and the facilities on the ground which receive, transmit and interpret the data gathered by those satellites.

Satellites

The first man-made object in orbit around the earth was the Soviet satellite, *Sputnik*, launched in October 1957. This was quickly followed by the first US satellite in January 1958. Since then, a wide variety of satellites have been launched, all of which have both military and civilian applications.

Reconnaissance Satellites: Photographic reconnaissance satellites take photos of the earth. The first known photo of earth from the vantage of space was taken by the US Explorer-6 satellite in 1959. Many of the satellites placed in orbit by the US and USSR are of the photo-reconnaissance type, and are used to take photos of military installations and troop movements. This is a new development of an old idea. Manned, hot-air balloons were used during the US Civil War in order to take photographs of enemy positions below.

A more complex system is the electronic reconnaissance satellite. It monitors radio signals, radar waves and even electronic signals given off by ballistic missiles. Other kinds of reconnaissance satellites monitor vessels at sea, observe launches of missiles and detect explosions of nuclear devices.

Communications Satellites: These provide reliable communications over great distances. Today, some eighty percent of military communications are carried out using satellites.

Navigation Satellites: Pilots, operators and the like use navigation satellites to help determine the position and speed of surface ships, submarines, aircraft and missiles. The satellites also provide informa-

tion for the guidance of missiles towards their targets. The first navigation satellite system was the US Navy's TRANSIT in 1964.

Meteorological and Geodetic Satellites: Meteorological satellites help monitor and predict the weather, a factor which must be considered by military planners. Geodetic, or 'earth-measuring', satellites provide information on the earth's surface and gravitational fields. This kind of information is important for the successful flight of long-range missiles, for example.

As can be seen, none of these types of satellites is itself a weapon. They all have military applications, however. The military would not want to conduct a war without a reliable communications system, therefore communications satellites are crucial. A target must be found before it can be hit, making reconnaissance satellites important.

All of these types of satellites have civilian applications as well. For example, many telephone conversations around the world are transmitted by satellite. Thus, space technology can be used for both peaceful and war purposes, depending on the intent of the user.

Weaponization of Space

The 'weaponization' of space refers to the possibility of placing

weapons in space with the intent of using them against targets, both on earth and in space. This is the aspect of the military use of space which most concerns people.

In the 1960s, the superpowers developed various schemes for the use of weapons in space. For example, the Soviet Union conducted research on a system which would place a nuclear weapon in low orbit. It would be able to return to earth and strike its target on command. Such programmes came to an end with the signing of what is known as the Outer Space Treaty in 1967. The treaty bans the placement of weapons of mass destruction—such as nuclear or chemical weapons—in space. The treaty also demilitarizes completely the moon and “other celestial bodies.” (The Partial Test Ban Treaty of 1963 had already banned nuclear tests in space.) A further step towards keeping weapons out of space was the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty. ABM systems are designed to shoot down ballistic missiles. The ABM Treaty bans ABM systems or their components, from space.

Despite some progress in keeping weapons out of space, there are still two particular areas of concern: anti-satellite weapons (ASATs) and the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI).

Because satellites had become so important to the military, the next question was: how to destroy those of one's enemy? ASATs are designed to inflict physical damage to satellites. This can be done by a collision, by an energy beam, or by an electromagnetic pulse created by a nuclear explosion. Despite some negotiations in the late 1970s, the US and USSR have not reached an agreement which specifically limits ASATs.

The Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) is a research programme first

announced by former US President Ronald Reagan in 1983. Its purpose is to investigate the possibility of building weapons against ballistic missiles. The research includes the possibility of placing weapons in space. Although no SDI components are yet operational, many oppose such a plan because they believe that it could lead to an arms race in space.

Canada in Space

Canada became the third country in space when its Alouette research satellite was placed in orbit in 1962. Since that time, most of Canada's involvement in space has been for civilian purposes. Canadian researchers and industries have developed technology for monitoring objects in space and on earth, as well as systems to process information gathered from satellites. Future projects include building a mobile maintenance and repair centre on the proposed US space station, and the launching of RADARSAT. RADARSAT is a satellite which will be capable of observing the earth even under conditions of darkness and fog. Scheduled for launch in 1994, RADARSAT will use radar to obtain images of the earth.

Canada has also conducted research which shows how the military use of space can be a positive development. Canada's PAXSAT studies have examined the role that space-based systems could play in verifying multilateral arms control agreements. States that sign an arms control treaty want to be sure that all parties are abiding by its terms. Thus, developing better verification technology increases the likelihood of successful treaties.

Canada's studies of PAXSAT illustrate the dilemma of the military use of space. Being able to observe the earth and make sure that no one is breaking a treaty is a positive contribution to international peace

and security. That very same technology, however, can be used to locate and pin-point targets for a nuclear attack. The result of the military use of space can be a more peaceful world, or a more dangerous world, depending on the intent of those who have access to such resources.

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Factsheet

12

THE UNITED NATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

Introduction

The United Nations (UN) is an organization of almost all the countries in the world. It was formed in 1945, at the end of WWII, in the hope of laying the foundation for a lasting peace in the world. The purpose of the organization is summarized in the opening statement of its founding document, the Charter of the United Nations: to "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war [and] to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security. . ."

Historical Background

The first modern attempt to set up an international organization to guarantee world peace was the League of Nations. It was created in the early 1920s in reaction to the horror of World War I. In the mid-1930s, the League fell apart. This came about mainly because, in times of crisis, few member states were willing to put the *collective* interests of world peace, before the *individual* concerns of their own states.

During the Second World War, US President Franklin Roosevelt presented another plan for the collective maintenance of peace and security. He proposed an organization based on the League of Nations' experience, including the concept of collective security, but combining it with the right and responsibility of the most powerful states in the world to use their armed might to enforce order. This new formula, with elements of both idealism and realism, formed the basis of the United Nations.

The structure and function of the United Nations was worked out by experts in international law representing the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States. In addition, allies

of these major powers, including Canada, put forward their own recommendations. The resulting document was a constitution called the UN Charter.

At the 1945 San Francisco Conference, forty-six states signed the UN Charter. In 1990, when the newly independent country of Namibia joins the UN, there will be a total of 160 members.

Structure

There are four major parts of the UN: the Security Council, the General Assembly, the Secretariat, and the International Court of Justice.

Security Council

The heart of the UN is the Security Council. This is the only UN body with the authority to intervene in international conflicts, using armed force if necessary. The main powers and responsibilities of the Security Council are:

- to maintain peace and security, given the authority and constraints defined by the UN Charter;
- to investigate threats to international peace or acts of aggression;
- to recommend methods for settling disputes;
- to call for non-military measures, such as sanctions, in an attempt to prevent breaches of the peace or to stop acts of aggression that are already underway;
- to take military actions against an aggressor, if all other measures fail.

The member states of the Security Council consider and vote on recommendations for action. These recommendations are called *resolutions*. Some resolutions have laid the foundation for the settlement of wars and other forms of

armed conflict. For example, Security Council resolution 598 spelled out the conditions for the recent Iran/Iraq ceasefire. Based on other resolutions, the Security Council has authorized the use of peacekeeping troops in regions of conflict, such as the divided island of Cyprus, in order to maintain some degree of stability.

The Security Council has fifteen members. Five are *permanent* members — China, France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States. The permanent members were the five major powers at the end of World War II. Today they are the only declared nuclear weapon states in the world.

The ten *non-permanent* members each serve two-year terms. Any member of the UN is eligible for election as a non-permanent member of the Council. They are elected to these seats by a free vote of all the countries in the United Nations. Canada has served as a non-permanent member four times in the past, and in 1989 began another two-year term.

The five permanent members have the right to *veto*, or block, any Security Council resolution, simply by voting against it. Some view the veto power of the permanent members as a fundamental flaw in the UN. Others argue that the veto reflects the acceptance of a simple reality: the influence of the great powers on international affairs.

The General Assembly

The Security Council takes action; the General Assembly *deliberates*. Members can express their opinions, individually or collectively, on a particular conflict, but the General Assembly does not have the authority, under the UN Charter, to intervene in a dispute.

The major functions and duties of the General Assembly are:

- to consider and make recommendations on issues affecting international peace and security*;
- to discuss and make recommendations on the UN Charter;
- to receive and consider reports from the Security Council;
- to elect the non-permanent members of the Security Council;
- to consider and approve the UN budget.

Most of the UN's day-to-day work is done by committees formed by members states of the General Assembly. There are seven permanent committees, each concentrating on a specific area, such as disarmament or decolonization. There are, in addition, committees which are set up to discuss critical issues as they arise. These are referred to as *ad hoc* committees.

Both types of committee, permanent and *ad hoc*, debate the various viewpoints on the issue before them. At the end of the discussion, a document may be put forward with a suggestion for solving a dispute or avoiding a conflict. The suggestions are forwarded to the General Assembly where they may become *resolutions*. Successful resolutions are passed by a simple majority vote. In the General Assembly, each state gets a single vote, regardless of size, wealth or power.

Secretariat

The Secretariat is the civil service for the United Nations. It administers the programmes laid down by UN bodies. UN officials take an oath to forswear all national interests and to pledge their allegiance to the world organization.

The head of the Secretariat, the Secretary-General, is the highest UN official. As well as administrative functions, the Secretary-General has a political role as well. The Secretary-

General can bring to the Security Council's attention any situation he deems a threat to world peace. The Secretary-General can use his position to mediate international disputes. For example, Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar and his officials helped bring about the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

International Court of Justice (World Court)

The International Court of Justice was established by the Charter as the UN's principal judicial body. It provides a neutral forum where UN (or non-UN) states can submit their grievances. All submissions are voluntary, and the judgements of the World Court cannot be enforced. States do, however, sometimes take their disputes to the International Court of Justice, and abide by its decisions, despite this lack of power to enforce the decision. What they stand to gain by the exercise is the benefit of the moral and legal authority that the Court conveys.

The United Nations System

Besides the international problems described above, there are other threats to world security — injustice, poverty, illiteracy. The UN Charter established the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) to deal with these problems. It is within ECOSOC that many Third World countries have had their greatest impact on the role of the UN.

Today ECOSOC coordinates the economic and social work of the UN system. Examples of organizations within this system are the World Health Organization (WHO), the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF).

Conclusion

The formation of the United Nations was an attempt to avoid the devastation of war. Presently, there is no authority higher than the individual state to impose and enforce international law. Instead,

the UN is based on *multilateralism* — the belief that the countries of the world can and should work together to solve their problems. For multilateralism to be successful, the UN requires the support of member states. Canada's foreign policy has long emphasized multilateral solutions to international problems. This policy is reflected in continuing, active support for the United Nations.

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*The GA can consider any situation *except* an item under discussion by the Security Council.

APPENDIX B7

TOWERS: AN INTERGROUP COMPETITION

Goals

- I. To study phenomena of competition among groups.
- II. To explore the feeling content and behavioural outcomes of winning and losing.
- III. To provide a basis for feedback to group members on their relations with other group members and their productivity in a task situation.

Group Size

Unlimited. (This is a multigroup exercise; each group should have no more than nine members.)

Time Required

Approximately one hour.

Materials

- I. Articles for auction: staplers, scissors, glue, string, and construction paper.
- II. Tower Judges' Role-Briefing Sheet for each group.
- III. Tower Observers' Role-Briefing Sheet for each group.

Physical Setting

A room large enough to permit several groups to work separately, but in sight of each other. For Process step I, each group should be seated separately as a group, facing one table on which all the articles for auction are displayed.

Process

- I. The facilitator briefly discusses goals of the activity and forms groups.
- II. Each group selects a representative to be on a panel of judges. These persons separate and form a group and then read the Tower Judges' Role-Briefing Sheet.
- III. An observer is selected for each group who goes away by himself to read the Tower Observers' Role-Briefing Sheet.
- IV. The facilitator now auctions off the articles. He announces that each group has

a sum of money--\$100,000, for example. Groups are told that they may elect to pool their finances and then split the resources that they are successful in obtaining, or may continue on with their individual bidding. Each group selects a bidder. The facilitator announces a minimum bid for the first article and the bidding begins.

- V. He announces that each group is to build a construction-paper tower with its articles. One tower will be declared the winner, judged by the criteria of height, aesthetic appeal, and sturdiness.
- VI. Each group constructs a tower with its articles. One observer takes notes on each group. There are no ground rules imposed on the tower-building process.
- VII. When all groups are finished, the judges select a winning tower. The groups respond to the judgment. Each observer should note his group's reactions to the judging process and to the announcement of the winning tower.
- VIII. Judges are asked to report on their experience. Each observer then reports on his group.

Adapted from: "Towers: An Intergroup Competition." Jones, John E., and Pfeiffer, J. William (eds.), A Handbook of Structured Experiences for Human Relations Training, Vol. III. San Diego, CA: University Associates, Inc., 1974. Used with permission.

APPENDIX B7
TOWER JUDGES' ROLE-BRIEFING SHEET
 (Not to be revealed until exercise is completed)

Group No. _____

<u>Criteria</u>	<u>Points</u> ("1" minimum, "5" maximum)
Height	_____
Sturdiness	_____
Looks	_____
Number of articles used in construction (1 point per article)	_____
Amount of money left after auction (1 point per increment of \$20,000)	_____

TOTAL	_____

APPENDIX B7
TOWER OBSERVERS' ROLE-BRIEFING SHEET
(Not to be revealed until exercise is completed)

Group No. _____

1. How did your group react to the idea that their tower was being judged as well as their actions observed?

2. How was it decided whether or not the resources should be pooled with another group?

3. Did someone take charge of the group: Who was this person and how did it happen?

4. How did your group react when a winner was announced?

APPENDIX B8

WHICH COUNTRIES MAKE THE BEST ALLIES?

1. Assess your country's level of security. For each of the following categories, indicate the degree to which your country feels threatened. (Use a scale of 1-6; 1 = little or no threat, 6 = serious threat.)

- A. a) Economic _____
(Prosperous, Self-Sufficient?)
- b) Government _____
(Stable, Internal Opposition?)
- c) Military _____
(Capable of meeting any challenge?)
- d) Population _____
(Peaceful, Good Relations?)
- e) Geography _____
(Natural Defences, Natural Weaknesses?)

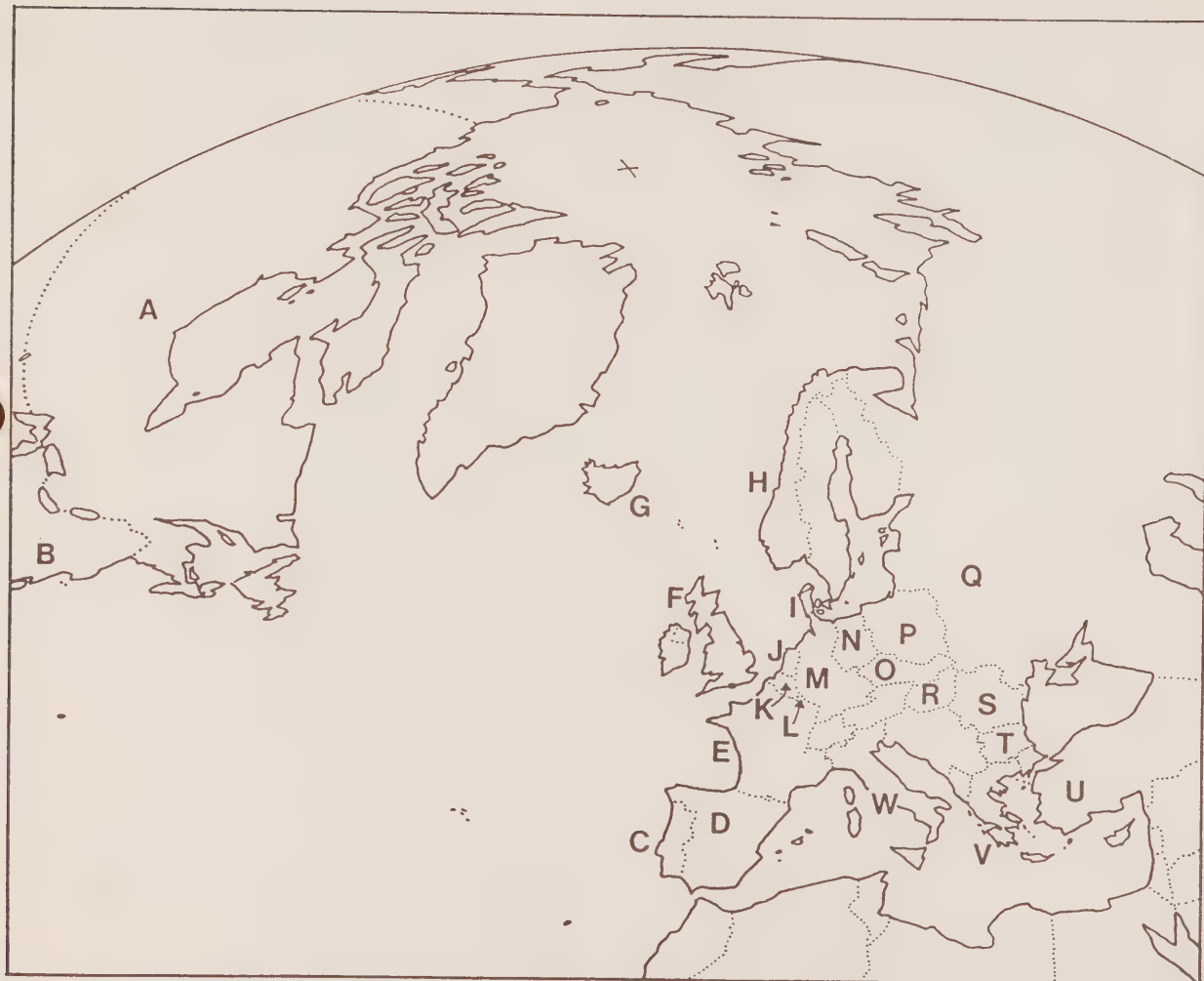
B. Explain your ratings:

2. Based on the above ratings, what are the key characteristics your country would look for in an ally? Why?

3. Review the description of the other countries in the Imaginary World. a) Which do you see as the most likely allies? Why?

- b) Which countries are you most unlikely to ally yourself with? Why?

APPENDIX B9
MEMBERSHIP IN NATO AND WARSAW PACT (WORKSHEET)



COUNTRY	NATO OR WARSAW PACT?
A	
B	
C	
D	
E	
F	
G	
H	
I	
J	
K	
L	
M	
N	
O	
P	
Q	
R	
S	
T	
U	
V	
W	

APPENDIX B9
MEMBERSHIP IN NATO AND WARSAW PACT (SOLUTIONS)



COUNTRY		NATO OR WARSAW PACT?
A	Canada	NATO
B	United States	NATO
C	Portugal	NATO
D	Spain	NATO
E	France	NATO
F	United Kingdom	NATO
G	Iceland	NATO
H	Norway	NATO
I	Denmark	NATO
J	Netherlands	NATO
K	Belgium	NATO
L	Luxembourg	NATO
M	West Germany	NATO
N	East Germany	NATO
O	Czechoslovakia	Warsaw Pact
P	Poland	Warsaw Pact
Q	Soviet Union	Warsaw Pact
R	Hungary	Warsaw Pact
S	Romania	Warsaw Pact
T	Bulgaria	Warsaw Pact
U	Turkey	Warsaw Pact
V	Greece	NATO
W	Italy	NATO

APPENDIX B10

SHOULD CANADA STAY IN OR LEAVE NATO?
 (Decision-making organizer)

CRITERIA (Things to judge the alternatives)		ALTERNATIVES OR POSSIBLE COURSES OF ACTION	
		Canada stays in NATO	Canada Leaves NATO
Criteria related to the Goal of Peace Security	Effectiveness	1	2
	Reaction of Allies	3	4
Criteria related to the Goal of Sovereignty	Reduces or Enhances Sovereignty	5	6
Criteria related to Economic Growth	Cost (\$)	7	8
	Reaction of Allies (effect on trade)	9	10

APPENDIX B11
SHOULD CANADA STAY IN OR LEAVE NATO?
Things to Consider Before Making Your Decision

The following is a list of some of the arguments commonly heard during discussions of Canada's future in NATO. The numbers refer to the appropriate box in the decision-making organizer (Appendix #B10) where these arguments best fit.

- 2) *Canada can concentrate its resources on the defence of its own territory.
 *Leaving NATO will indicate Canada has no hostile intentions towards anyone, therefore, why should anyone be hostile towards Canada?
 *Canada is too big to be defended by its own people alone; the financial cost will be unbearable.
 *If Canada leaves NATO, it can no longer count on anyone to support it in case of aggression.
 *The 'Soviet threat' has always been exaggerated so Canada would not at all reduce its security by leaving NATO.

* * *

- 3) *Canada will continue to be welcomed at "the table" and will continue to have an input into alliance decisions such as arms control.

* * *

- 5) *Canada enhances its sovereignty by combining its defensive resources with its allies--to be sovereign requires that you are able to defend your interests; Canada does this best with its allies.
 *Canada weakens its sovereignty by committing itself to an alliance which may involve Canada in a conflict not of its own making.

* * *

- 1) *Canada can count on allies to support it in case of aggression against Canada.
 *Canada has access to NATO alliance intelligence on Soviet activities.
 *Canada takes part in decisions concerning weapons and strategy which may affect its security.
 *The symbolic value of the Canadian commitment to NATO strengthens NATO and hence improves Canadian security.
 *NATO might drag Canada into a war in Europe when Canada itself has no direct quarrels with the USSR.
 *The Canadian military learns much through interaction with its allies.

- 6) *Canada's defence will be a truly Canadian matter and concern. Only in this way, can Canada be sure that its best interests are served.

* * *

- 10) *NATO training facilities in Canada will be closed at a financial loss to Canada.
*Former NATO allies may retaliate against Canada by reducing trade.

* * *

- 7) *Canada saves money by combining its defensive resources with its allies. A 'go it alone' approach would be unaffordable in a time of government cut-backs.

* * *

- 4) *Canada will have no direct influence on the NATO alliance--this includes strategy and arms control negotiations.
*Canada already has little influence on NATO decisions so leaving the alliance and losing that influence on allies will be no great loss.
*Canada will not be privy to alliance intelligence.

* * *

- 8) *Since Canada can no longer depend on its allies' assistance or access to their intelligence and expertise, Canada will have to increase defence spending.
*The Soviet Union is not the great threat that NATO makes it out to be. Leaving NATO, therefore, would not require an increase in Canadian defence spending.

* * *

- 9) *Because of alliance membership, Canadian defence industries have access to NATO governments' defence spending.
*Defence sharing agreements provide jobs for Canadians.

APPENDIX B12
SHOULD CANADA STAY IN OR LEAVE NATO?
How this Exercise can be Presented to Students

Each of the following four suggestions demands progressively less effort on the part of the students. Suggestion 1) is the most demanding, with each suggestion afterwards demanding less. While Appendix #B10 provides a useful way of organizing one's thinking on the question of Canada's participation in NATO, students should be encouraged to modify this appendix in whatever way aids their thinking.

1. Students can be asked the question "Should Canada stay in or leave NATO?", and then given the sheet "Eight Steps to using a Decision-Making Organizer" (Appendix #B13). It is then their task to develop an organizer, find information related to the question at hand, and come to their own conclusions.
2. Students can be asked the question "Should Canada stay in or leave NATO?", and then given the sheet "Eight Steps to using a Decision-Making Organizer" (Appendix #B13). They are then provided with the decision-making organizer (Appendix #B10) and asked to fill in the boxes and come to their own conclusions.
3. Students can be asked the question "Should Canada stay in or leave NATO?", and then given the sheet "Eight Steps to using a Decision-Making Organizer" (Appendix #B13). Next, they are provided with the decision-making organizer (Appendix #B10) and Appendix #B11 (Should Canada Stay in or Leave NATO: Things to Consider Before Making Your Decision), with the numbers associated with the various blocks of information removed. It is then the students' task to place each block of information in the proper section in the decision-making organizer. They use this information to reach their conclusion about Canada's participation in NATO.
4. Students can be asked the question "Should Canada stay in or leave NATO?", and then given the sheet "Eight Steps to using a Decision Making Organizer" (Appendix #B13). Next, they are provided with the decision-making organizer (Appendix #B10) and Appendix #B11 (Should Canada Stay in or Leave NATO: Things to Consider Before Making Your Decision). It is then the students' task to place each block of information in the proper section in the decision making organizer. They use this information to reach their conclusions about Canada's participation in NATO.

APPENDIX B13
EIGHT STEPS TO USING A DECISION-MAKING ORGANIZER

1. What is the problem you are considering? For example, should Canada stay in NATO or leave it?
2. What is the focus of your investigation? Using the NATO example again, the question is, would staying in NATO be the best for Canada considering the various costs and benefits of the alliance or, would leaving NATO be the better decision? These questions become the **ALTERNATIVES** or possible **COURSES OF ACTION**.
3. Prepare an organizing chart that lists the **ALTERNATIVES** or possible **COURSES OF ACTION**.
4. How will you compare and judge the information that you have about each of the **ALTERNATIVES**? Develop categories to organize your information. These categories are called **CRITERIA**. Two criteria that are often useful are **COST** and **EFFECTIVENESS**.
5. Place the information you have in the appropriate **CRITERIA** box. Decide if the information you have placed in each box is either positive from your point of view (label it as +) or negative (label it as -).
6. Decide how important each of the criteria ought to be to the decision. To do this, rank the criteria from the most important to the least important. If you have five criteria, for example, give the most important the number "5" and the least important the number "1".
7. Multiply the pluses (+) and minuses (-) that are in each of the criteria boxes by the ranking number you have given that criteria. For example, if you have 5 pluses and 3 minuses in a criteria box, and you rank that criteria as being a "4" in importance, you would calculate the score for that criteria as follows: $(5 \times 4) - (3 \times 4) = 20 - 12 = 8$.
8. Finally, add downward all the pluses (+) and minuses (-) that you have for each of the **ALTERNATIVES** or **COURSES OF ACTION**. Compare the totals for each. The one with the highest score will be the best decision from your viewpoint.

APPENDIX B14
ALLIANCES AND DIPLOMACY: CONVENTIONAL DISARMAMENT AND
OPEN SKIES

Alliances such as NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) and the Warsaw Pact (Warsaw Treaty Organization) are best known for their military nature and activities. While this is the most visible characteristic of these alliances, they are more than just military instruments for their members. Alliances can also serve as instruments for diplomacy. Two recent examples of this are negotiations to reduce conventional (non-nuclear) weapons in Europe, and negotiations on an Open Skies treaty.

In order to be militarily effective, NATO and the Warsaw Pact have developed structures and practices to link their respective members for the purpose of common defence. For example, there are Canadian troops stationed in West Germany, while West German soldiers carry out training exercises in Canada. All NATO members sit on the North Atlantic Council to work out alliance policy.

An individual member of NATO, for example, can have an impact on all of Europe by working within the NATO alliance to have it adopt a particular policy. Once a policy has been adopted, it has the force of the entire alliance behind it. No longer is it a policy of one state, but of many states. An alliance can be used to apply force or threats, but it can also be a useful structure for negotiations.

In 1973, NATO and the Warsaw Pact began negotiations to reduce conventional forces in Europe. These talks dragged on until 1989. There was little agreement on many issues. In the West, it is generally accepted that this lack of progress was due to the fact that the Soviet Union was not genuinely interested in conventional force reductions. Because of this, the Warsaw Pact did not try to achieve results in the talks.

In 1989, a new set of talks began called the Negotiations on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE). In contrast to previous negotiations, these CFE talks are moving at a rapid pace and it is thought that significant conventional reductions are on the horizon. The reason for such change: both NATO and the Soviets now believe reductions are in their interest. In addition, other states of the Warsaw Pact are negotiating with the Soviets the removal of Soviet troops from their countries, back home to the Soviet Union. This pressure from their own allies is further encouragement to the Soviets to strike a deal with NATO. Because the negotiations are conducted between members of the two alliances, a successful treaty will mean widespread reductions across Europe; from the Atlantic Ocean to the Ural Mountains in the Soviet Union.

Another diplomatic initiative between NATO and the Warsaw Pact is the attempt to achieve a mutual surveillance system called "Open Skies".

In 1955, US President Eisenhower proposed that the US and USSR allow aircraft from the other side to overfly its home territory. This would be a way to monitor each side's military activities. The USSR, however, saw the proposal as a US attempt to spy on the Soviet Union. Interest in the Open Skies plan died but the idea was brought back to life by President Bush in 1989.

In May 1989, President Bush proposed that the US and Soviet Union once again begin discussions on an Open Skies system. Canada had strongly urged President Bush to pursue this plan, and expand it to include all the members of NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Once the Soviets agreed to the Open Skies concept in September 1989, Canada offered to host negotiations between the members of NATO and the Warsaw Pact. The first phase of the negotiations took place in Ottawa in February 1990, and the second phase took place in Budapest, Hungary, in May 1990.

The purpose of Open Skies is to increase the openness of the military activities of both alliances. This is viewed as a way of building confidence and cooperation between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. If successful, the Open Skies concept could possibly be applied to other European states which are not part of NATO or the Warsaw Pact, or perhaps to other regions of the world.

Both of these examples illustrate how an alliance can be used as a diplomatic, as well as a military instrument.

APPENDIX B15

CONTACTING SOVIET STUDENTS

An exchange of letters between Soviet and Canadian students on issues of international peace and security can serve to bring the reality of international relations to the classroom. Since such an exchange of letters is likely to take some time (due to the vagaries of the postal system among other reasons), it will also keep the issues covered in a particular classroom unit alive throughout the year.

1. Because it may take some time to set up, begin arrangements for the letter writing before you reach the point in the school year when you assign this task to students. In other words, establish contacts with groups which can help with the project ahead of time.
2.
 - a) An organization with experience dealing with Soviet Schools is the Canadian Teachers' Canada/USSR School Twinning Committee. They can assist you by putting you in touch with Soviet organizations and schools which would be interested in a letter writing exchange. They can also provide some useful advice on more ambitious twinning projects. Their address is South Carleton High School, Richmond, Ontario K0A 2Z0 (613) 838-2212.
 - b) Another alternative is to contact the International Friendship Club in Moscow. The Friendship Club brings together Soviet students of various ages who have an interest in pen pals. The address is International Friendship Club, Moscow City Pioneer and Schoolchildren Palace, Kosygin Str., 17, Moscow 117978, USSR.
 - c) Lastly, a contact that may prove useful is the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa. Mr. Alexander Foshine, Second Secretary is a member of the Canadian Teachers' Canada/USSR School Twinning Committee and he can assist in your efforts to contact Soviet Schools. His address is Soviet Embassy, 285 Charlotte Street, Ottawa, Ontario, K1N 8L5 (613) 235-4341.
3. Start your letter writing exchange at the beginning of your international relations unit. The letters could present the students' views of international relations as they affect Canada, and, more specifically, their perceptions of the Soviet Union's role in the world. This could be followed up with a second letter at the end of the unit. If letters from Soviet students have been received in the meantime, this second letter should take those letters into account. In addition, it could describe the subjects that the class has been discussing, as well as any change of viewpoints which have occurred because of either the course itself, or the letters from the Soviet Union, or both.

APPENDIX B16
A SHEPHERD'S FLEECE: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE DILEMMA
OF COOPERATION VS. COMPETITION

1. The "Shepherd's Fleece" is a variation on a type of game called the "Prisoner's Dilemma." The game involves two people playing against each other. Each player has the same choices before them and must decide whether to cooperate or defect, or in this particular example, limit their flock, or not limit their flock.
2. The first step is to divide the students into pairs. Issue a Tally Sheet and Scoring Grid to each student. Then present them with the following scenario. After all have had a chance to read it, make sure the scenario and the scoring is understood.

* * *

Scenario:

Leger and Jones, two sheep ranchers, have been offered the use of some lush range in a section of a provincial park that borders on the land of both ranchers. Times have been tough lately for the ranchers, so they immediately accept the offer of land.

The provincial park commissioner advises both ranchers that they should limit their flocks to 100 sheep apiece. To exceed this number would lead to over-grazing and the destruction of the range.

Leger and Jones know that under the best of conditions, they can expect to earn \$50 per fleece. This means that if they graze 100 sheep each, they will each make a \$5,000 profit. They also know that if each doubles his flock to 200 sheep, the resulting overgrazing will only yield \$20 per fleece, or a profit of \$4,000 for each rancher.

If Leger, however, were to double his flock (200 sheep) and Jones take the park commissioners advice and limit his flock to 100 sheep, the resulting over-grazing would produce a price of \$30 per fleece. In this case, Leger would earn \$6,000 and Jones only \$3,000. The situation would be reversed if Leger kept only 100 sheep and Jones raised his flock to 200.

Neither rancher knows whether the other is going to accept the advice of the park commissioner, and they won't discuss the situation with each other. Once they have decided how big their flocks will be, the ranchers cannot change the numbers until the season is over.

Imagine you are one of the ranchers. Would you graze 100 or 200 sheep?

* * *

3. The teacher explains that there will be ten rounds to this phase of the game. During these rounds, there will be no communications between the players until they are so instructed. In addition, opponents should be facing away from each other. The teacher tells the students when to write down their decision on the tally sheet. After this has been done, the teacher instructs each student to reveal his/her decision to his/her opponent so it can be recorded on their tally sheet. This routine is repeated for each of the ten rounds.
4. After the tenth round, the players are allowed to confer with their opponents for 3 - 5 minutes.
5. Another ten rounds are then played, under the same instructions as 3. above.
6. After the twentieth round in all, a thorough debriefing should take place. This could begin by having the opposing players write down on a piece of paper the words they would use to describe the behaviour of their opponent during the game. Opponents would then exchange papers and discuss their impressions.

The debriefing should then move to include the entire class. The following is a path the teacher could follow:

- a) What Happened?: Allow the players to review what they did, why, and what they thought of their opponent.
- b) What is the Message of the Game?: How is the game similar to the real world? Different? What is the dilemma of the situation? What is the best decision to take given the pay-offs? Would the game have been different if you could have communicated with your opponent all along? Did your strategy change after you had a chance to speak to your opponent after the tenth round? How is this game similar to the situation facing states when they consider their security? Different?
- c) Conclusion: Try to bring together all the observations that have been gathered in the debriefing.

Notes on the Prisoner's Dilemma

The "Shepherd's Fleece" is simply a variation on a game called the "Prisoner's Dilemma." The Prisoner's Dilemma gets its name from the scenario by which it was first introduced. In this scenario, two suspects are charged with murder and are given the option of turning state's evidence and implicating their cohort in the crime. Like the Shepherd's Fleece, there are various pay-offs for defecting or trusting the other player by remaining silent.

In all Prisoner's Dilemma type games, each player has two possible strategies: cooperate with the other, or defect by pursuing one's own self-interest. Not knowing what the other player will do, and playing the game only once, the rational solution is to defect and protect one's own interests. In the case of the Shepherd's Fleece, by defecting, the rancher may gain the maximum monetary return, i.e. \$6,000. At worst, he risks earning only \$4,000. Should he cooperate by limiting his flock, he may earn \$5,000, but he also risks the defection of the other rancher, in which case he will only earn \$3,000. If both ranchers think in the same rational way, both will defect and earn \$4,000.

If the game is played repeatedly, however, the two sides may realize that continued defection lessens their possible gains, when in fact, a cooperative strategy will bring mutual benefits. Experiments using as many as 300 consecutive plays of the Prisoner's Dilemma have revealed a typical pattern of results when this game is played. Initially, the players cooperate in less than 50% of the plays. Competition usually sets in next, with cooperation falling to about 1/4 of the plays. Cooperation then moves back to the 50% figure and rises to almost 3/4 of the plays towards the end of the game. These results suggest that when early gestures of cooperation are not returned in kind, competition sets in and this mutual retaliation takes some time to recover from. Eventually the players return to the cooperation found early in the game and go on to sustain even higher levels of cooperation.

The Prisoner's Dilemma reveals that those who are inclined to defect repeatedly and those who are inclined to cooperate repeatedly are both likely to do poorly. Those who spurn cooperative moves by their opponent will induce retaliation and both sides will lose. Those who cooperate despite repeated defection by their opponent will simply continue to be exploited by that opponent. The best strategy turns out to be a tit-for-tat strategy. This strategy involves: a) making an initial cooperative move; b) continuing to cooperate as long as these moves are reciprocated; c) retaliating whenever there is defection; and d) initiating unilateral cooperative moves in order to give the opponent the opportunity to resume mutual cooperation.

The fascinating lesson of the Prisoner's Dilemma is that the pursuit of one's own self-interest does not necessarily lead to social benefit. In this game, the greatest social benefit comes with cooperation, but that mutual benefit first requires trust.

APPENDIX B16
 A SHEPHERD'S FLEECE
 SCORING GRID

JONES

Limits Flock

Doesn't Limit Flock

Limits
Flock

LEGER

Dosen't
Limit
Flock

<div>\$5,000</div> <div>\$5,000</div>	<div>\$6,000</div> <div>\$3,000</div>
<div>\$3,000</div> <div>\$6,000</div>	<div>\$4,000</div> <div>\$4,000</div>

APPENDIX 16

SHEPHERD'S FLEECE TALLY SHEET

NAME: _____

ROUND	DECISION		PROFIT (\$): THIS ROUND	
	Player A	Player B	Player A	Player B
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				
8				
9				
10				
11				
12				
13				
14				
15				
16				
17				
18				
19				
20				

APPENDIX B17 NUCLEAR DETERRENCE

What does Deterrence Mean?

Deterrence is a state of affairs in which someone is discouraged from taking an action because the cost of that action outweighs the benefits. Deterrence requires something to make a particular action costly. That something is called the "deterrent". The deterrent is a threat to impose a penalty. For example, one deterrent to stealing cars is the fact that you will probably go to jail if you are caught.

Nuclear Deterrence

When most people today speak of deterrence, they are in fact thinking of nuclear deterrence. This means that each side is discouraged from taking military action against the other side because the costs are too great. These costs are created by the deterrent, which is nuclear weapons. Nuclear deterrence exists between the Soviet Union and the United States because each side could use nuclear weapons in response to an attack. The fear of the devastation which would be caused by nuclear weapons is said to deter war.

What is Necessary for Nuclear Deterrence?

"What is necessary for nuclear deterrence?" may seem like an unusual question to ask. The obvious answer is "nuclear weapons, of course!" but it is not quite that straightforward. If only one country had nuclear weapons, any other country which attacked it would clearly be foolish. If the country with nuclear weapons was attacked, it could respond with these weapons; this should deter aggression. But what happens when two countries have nuclear weapons? If your opponent has nuclear weapons and you have nuclear weapons, how do you deter him from attacking you?

This question of how one can deter the other side when both have nuclear weapons came about when the Soviet Union followed the United States and also built nuclear weapons. If both sides have nuclear weapons, perhaps there would be something to be gained by striking first and quickly, disarming the other side. If such a first strike were possible, deterrence would not exist. In this situation, more than just the possession of nuclear weapons is necessary for deterrence.

Under these conditions, it is generally agreed that deterrence is guaranteed when each side is able to withstand a nuclear attack without losing its ability to strike back or retaliate. This means that no matter who strikes first, and how many weapons are used, the other side will still have enough weapons to retaliate.

Neither side can use nuclear weapons without bringing a nuclear attack upon themselves.

This is MAD

The idea that the United States and Soviet Union each have the ability to destroy the other by responding to a nuclear attack with nuclear weapons of their own, is known as **Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD)**. MAD means that a nuclear attack would be suicidal, therefore, there is no sensible reason for attacking in the first place.

Nuclear deterrence has been the cornerstone of the military security policies of both the Soviet Union and the United States for most of the years since World War II. The other states which are known to have nuclear weapons, the United Kingdom, France and China, have also built them because they believe these weapons will help deter any military aggression against them. The wisdom of such an approach to security has been, and continues to be, hotly debated.

The Debate

Those who argue that nuclear deterrence must be maintained believe that as long as there are hostile alliances and states, nuclear weapons will be necessary to prevent nuclear and conventional war. They point to the millions of deaths during World War I and II, and claim that it has been deterrence which has prevented a repeat of such wars. On the other hand, should deterrence fail, and nuclear weapons be used, the cost could be the end of civilization. Is this a sound policy upon which to base mankind's future?

Critics of deterrence point out that the whole idea is based on judging what influences a state's decision-making. In other words, will the threat of punishment prevent a state from taking a particular decision? Or will such a threat be ignored? There can be no objective answer to this question. This makes it impossible to determine how much is necessary for deterrence. Therefore, we can never know for sure how many bombs, planes, missiles and other weapons will convince the other side not to attack. It is argued that this sets the stage for an arms race. Each side tries to keep ahead of the other, and each side justifies more weapons by the need to strengthen deterrence, even though it cannot be determined objectively how much deterrence is enough. Arms races create tension and anxiety, and since there are more weapons and more people handling them, arms races increase the possibility of accidents and miscalculation.

In response, those who defend deterrence argue that arms races reflect tensions and anxieties which already exist and do not create them. In addition, they argue that intelligent decisions can be made as to what weapons are necessary for deterrence and the situation is not out of control.

The views of the supporters and critics of deterrence reflect different perceptions of the nature of the behaviour of states and people. Critics view nuclear weapons as the highest form of violence. They argue that such violence can in no way contribute to peace; peace cannot be built upon threats of such violence. Those who support deterrence argue that we live in a world where, unfortunately, the threat to use the violence of nuclear weapons is our one insurance against military aggression. Until that changes, we must live with the risks involved with nuclear weapons.

APPENDIX B18

THE DESTRUCTIVE CAPACITY OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

There are between 40,000 and 50,000 nuclear weapons in the world, with a combined destructive power of over one million times that of the bomb dropped on Hiroshima.

Today, some nuclear missiles have an explosive power over one megaton, or 80 times that dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Scientists cannot predict with perfect accuracy the total effect of a nuclear explosion. However, it is agreed that the effects of even a single one-megaton bomb would be devastating.

Effects of a One-Megaton Nuclear Explosion

It is predicted that within a 6 kilometre radius of a one-megaton air-burst, the chance of surviving would be 0%.

0-2.4 kilometre radius: At and near the centre of the explosion people would be killed by the intense heat which would approach 10 million degrees centigrade. This is known as the "nuclear fireball".

0-6.0 kilometre radius: The fireball would expand very rapidly, producing a surrounding ring of highly dense and extremely pressurized air. This air mass, or "shock front" would move away from the centre at supersonic speeds. The resulting blast effect would ensure that there were no survivors within a 6 kilometre radius. All buildings would be destroyed as well.

0-18.0 kilometre radius: Up to 18 kilometres away from the blast, people would suffer second and third degree burns. The blast effect would cause high winds, destroying buildings. Flying debris would be a major source of injury for a great number of people. The mortality rate in this area would depend on the available medical resources. If this nuclear explosion were the only one to take place, then supplies could be brought in from outside the area. In the case of a total nuclear war, aid from outlying areas could not be expected, resulting in more deaths.

Beyond the 18.0 kilometre radius: This area would be effected by nuclear radiation or contamination. Initially, a mushroom shaped cloud made up of radioactive particles and dust would rise into the atmosphere. Gradually, over days and years, the material would fall back to earth over a wide area of the globe. This is called radioactive fallout.

Effects of Radiation

Aside from the immediate deaths resulting from the extreme heat and powerful blast, many people would fall victim to various levels of radiation sickness. With sufficiently high doses of radiation, the human nervous system is destroyed and death can occur within hours. Others would suffer nausea and vomiting and would die within days or weeks.

Different forms of cancer can afflict people exposed to radiation. Radiation also lowers the human ability to resist germs, viruses and bacteria. Therefore, the outbreak of disease and epidemics could be expected. The incidence of birth defects, miscarriages, and genetic mutations would also rise. Finally, it would be expected that the effects of radiation contamination would continue for generations, as our natural food supply (plants and animals) would also be contaminated.

The truth about nuclear "truths"

Scientists base their predictions on computer models, and observations of nuclear tests, which together allow them to produce a forecast of effects. Predicting such large-scale consequences such as the effects of a nuclear war (which has never occurred) can never be an exact science. It is necessary to understand, therefore, that scientists can only develop reasonable and probable scenarios of nuclear war and its aftermath; the precise reality is unknown.

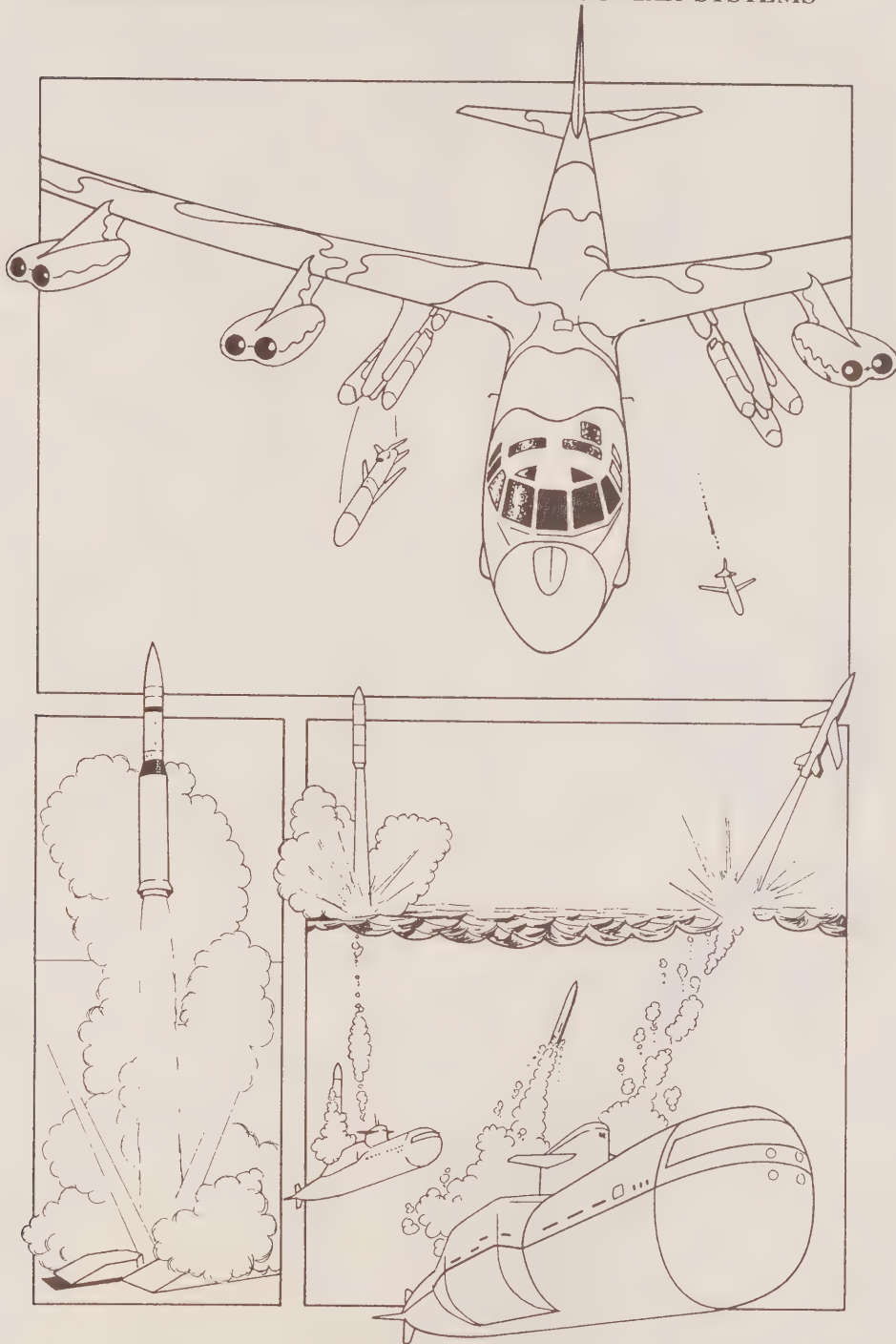
Indirect Effects of Nuclear War

Above and beyond its direct effects on humans and other life forms, radioactivity high in the atmosphere would produce significant environmental changes. For example, scientists believe that a nuclear explosion would produce nitrogen oxides which could damage the ozone layer. The ozone layer helps to keep out ultra-violet radiation from the sun, which is dangerous to humans.

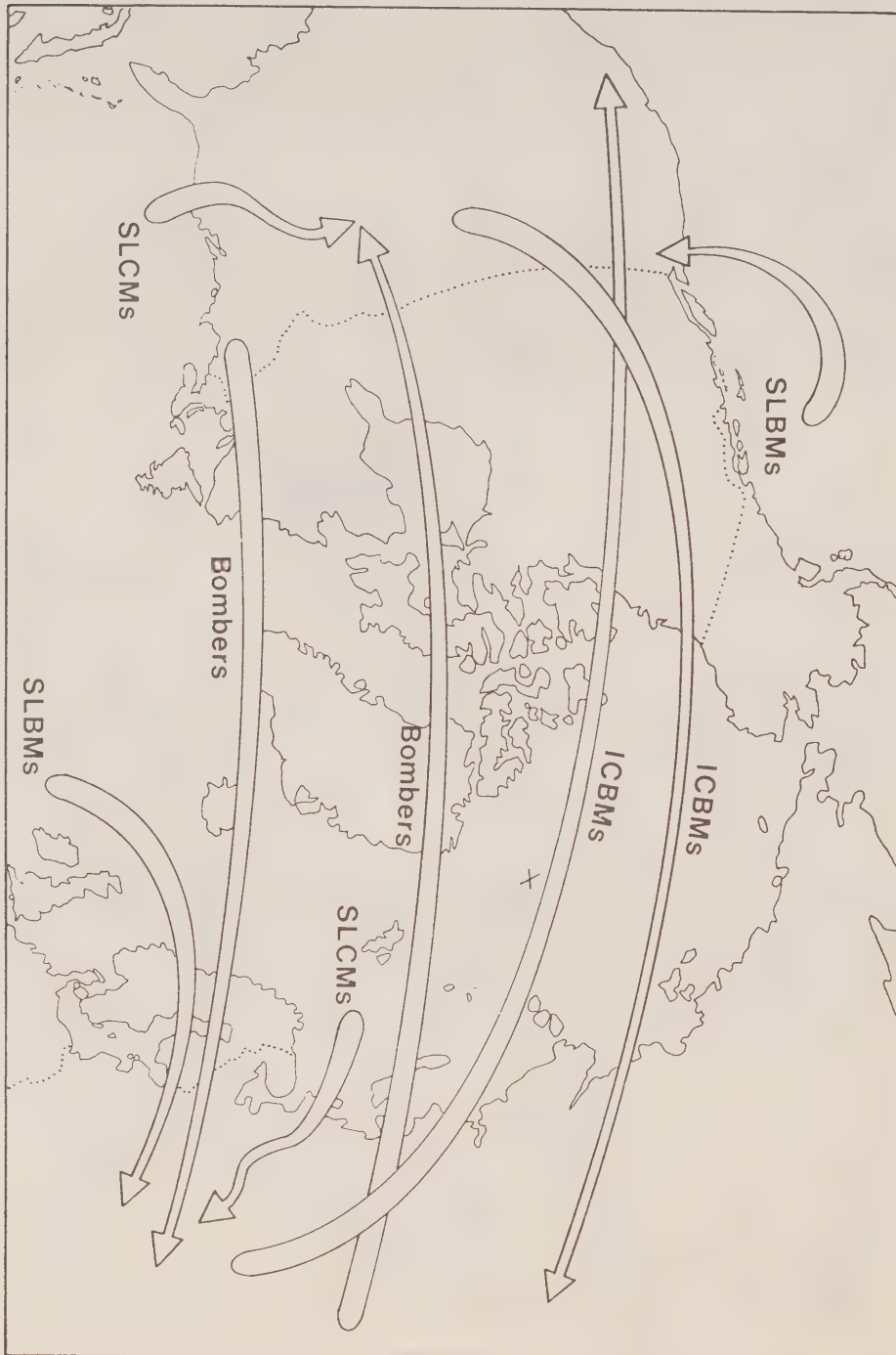
Another indirect effect of nuclear war would be the "nuclear winter" scenario. Nuclear winter describes the climatic changes which, some argue, would result from a nuclear war. It is predicted that the smoke and dust particles from the blast and fire would form vast upper atmospheric clouds. Some scientists believe that such dense particle clouds would act to block out the sun's rays from the earth's surface.

In the case of a total nuclear war, it is believed that the resulting cooling of the earth's surface - due to lack of sunlight - would severely disrupt global weather patterns. Cold air would confront a warmer mass of ocean water, causing violent windstorms, destroying and flooding coastal areas. The drop in temperature would destroy crops, and the lack of sunlight would impede photosynthesis, the process by which plants produce energy from air and water. Because of these effects, human and animal life could conceivably cease to exist.

APPENDIX B19
AMERICAN AND SOVIET STRATEGIC NUCLEAR SYSTEMS



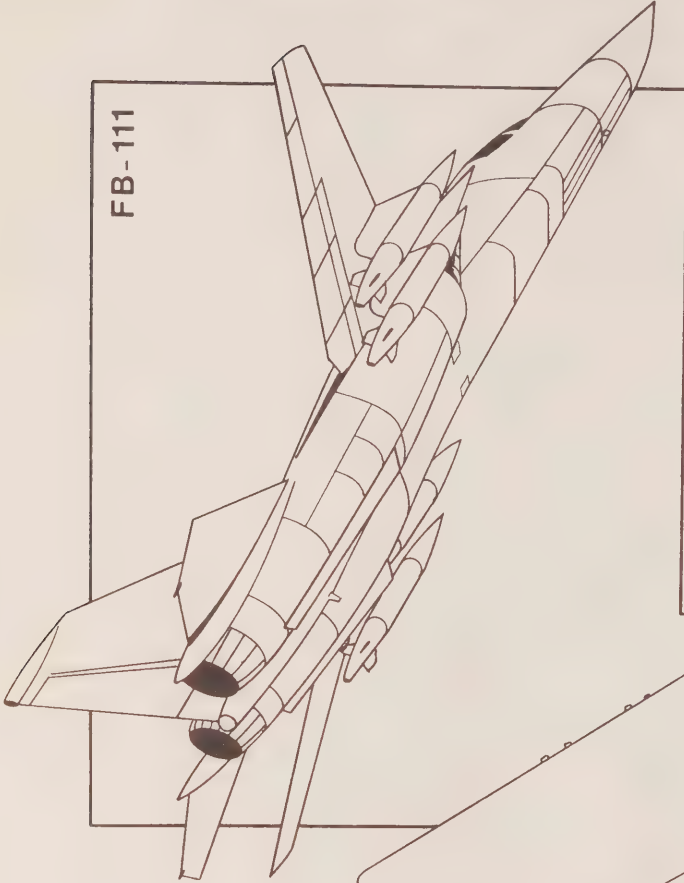
APPENDIX B19
AMERICAN AND SOVIET STRATEGIC NUCLEAR SYSTEMS



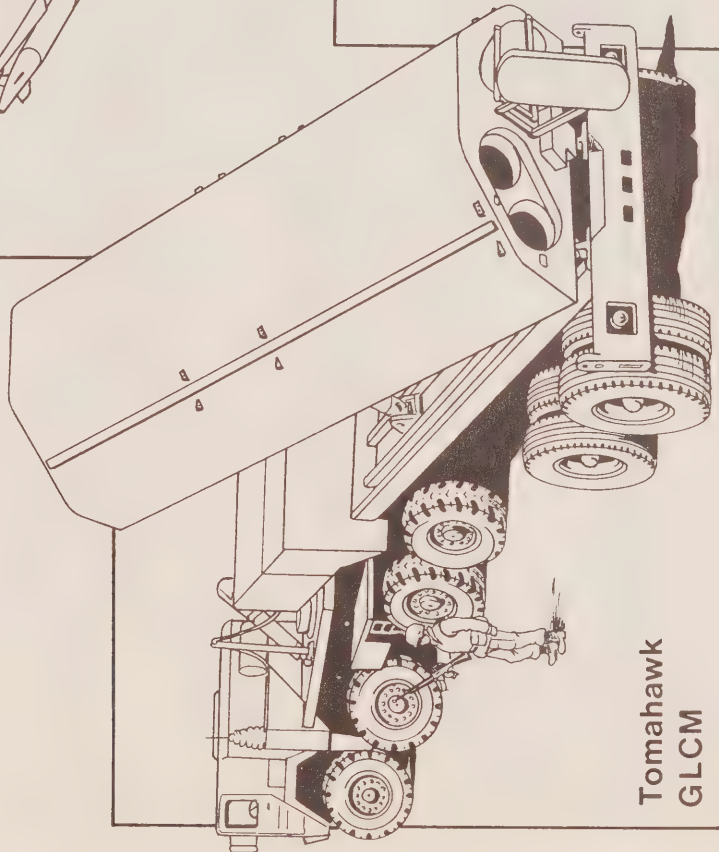
APPENDIX B19 AMERICAN MEDIUM RANGE NUCLEAR SYSTEMS

American ground-launched cruise missile (GLCMs), Pershing 1A warheads, and Pershing 2 missiles are banned under the terms of the INF Treaty signed in Washington December 1987.

FB-111



The US FB-111 is a strike aircraft capable of carrying up to six nuclear-tipped missiles. In Europe, the FB-111 is based in Britain.



**Tomahawk
GLCM**

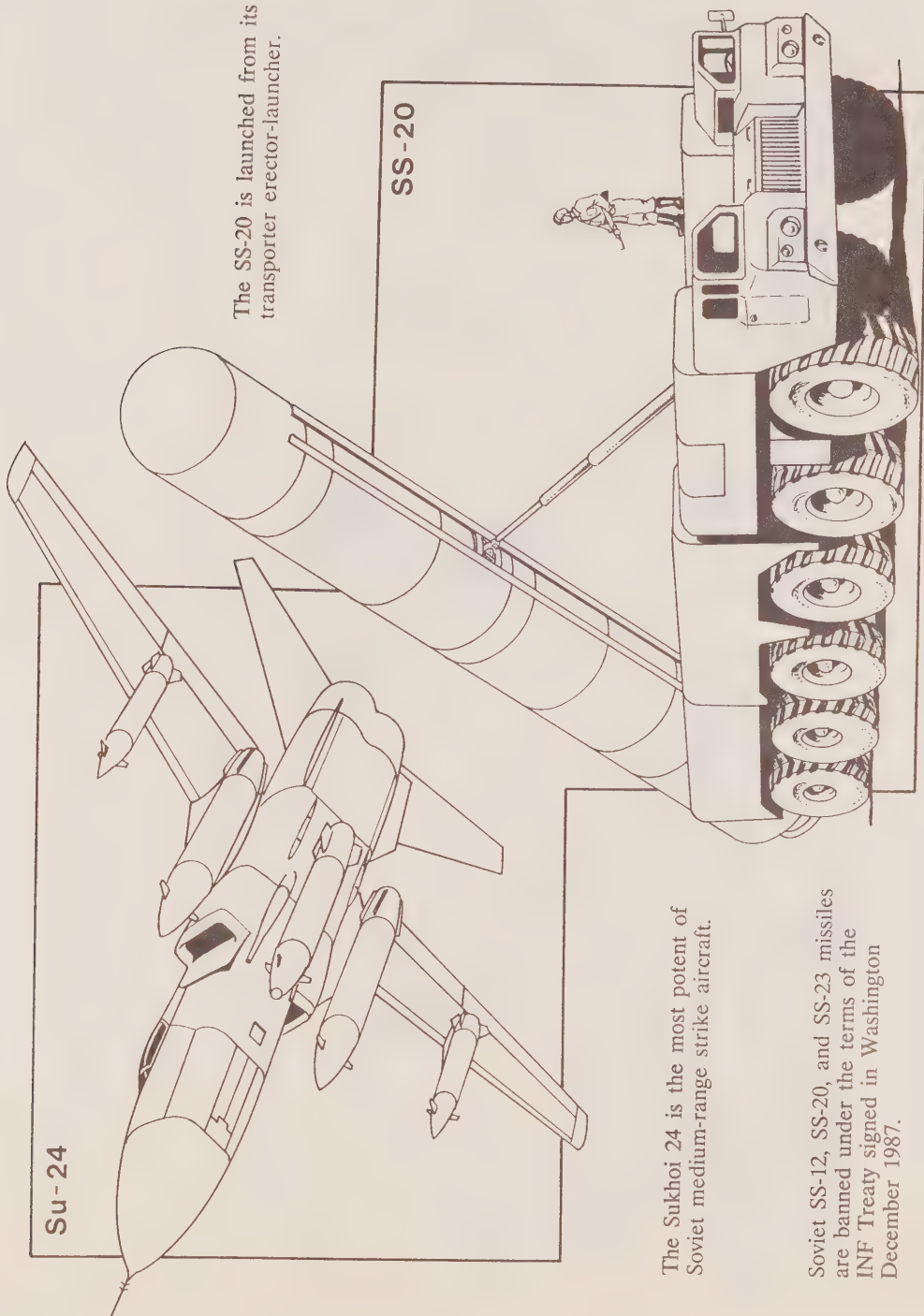
Four Tomahawk cruise missiles are carried in each US transporter erector-launcher.

APPENDIX B19
AMERICAN MEDIUM RANGE NUCLEAR SYSTEMS

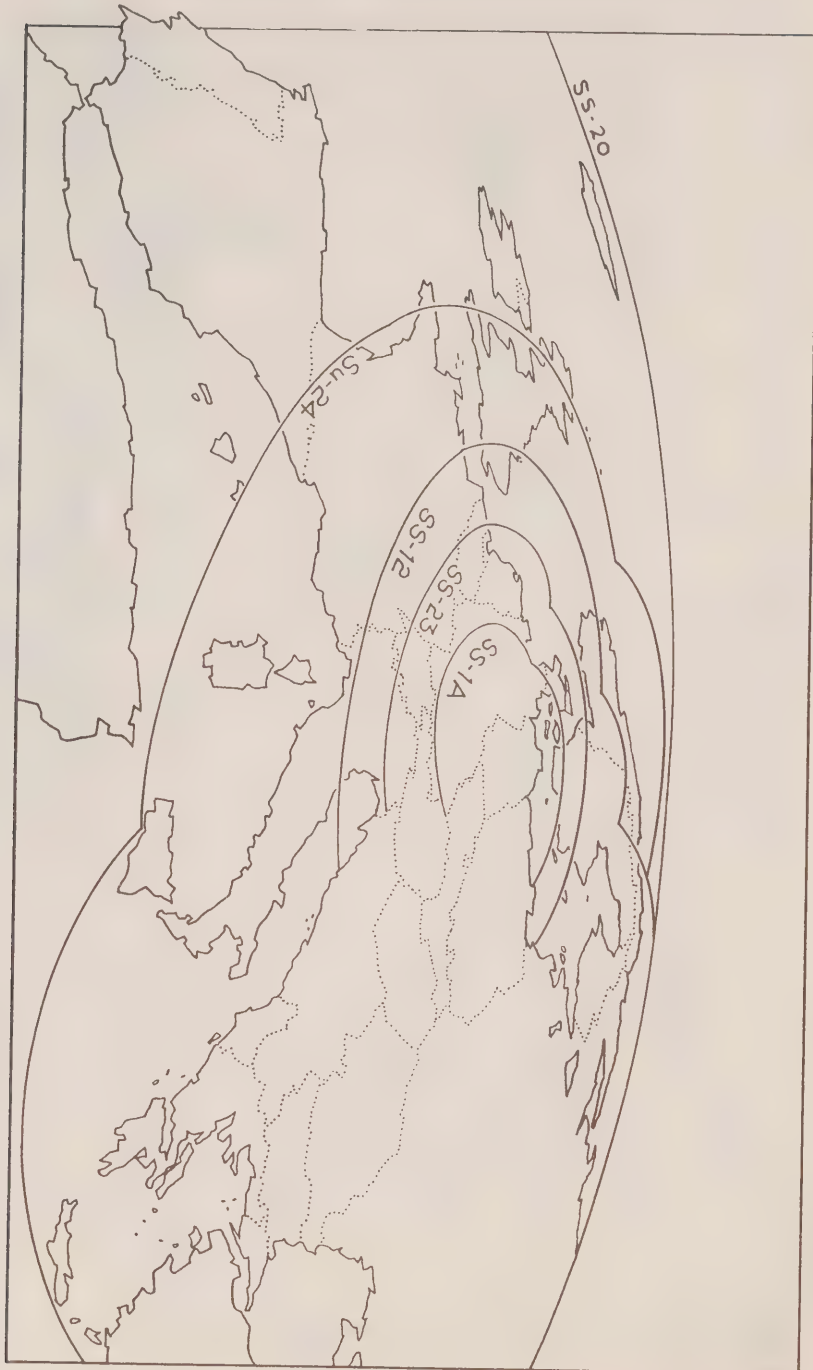


APPENDIX B19

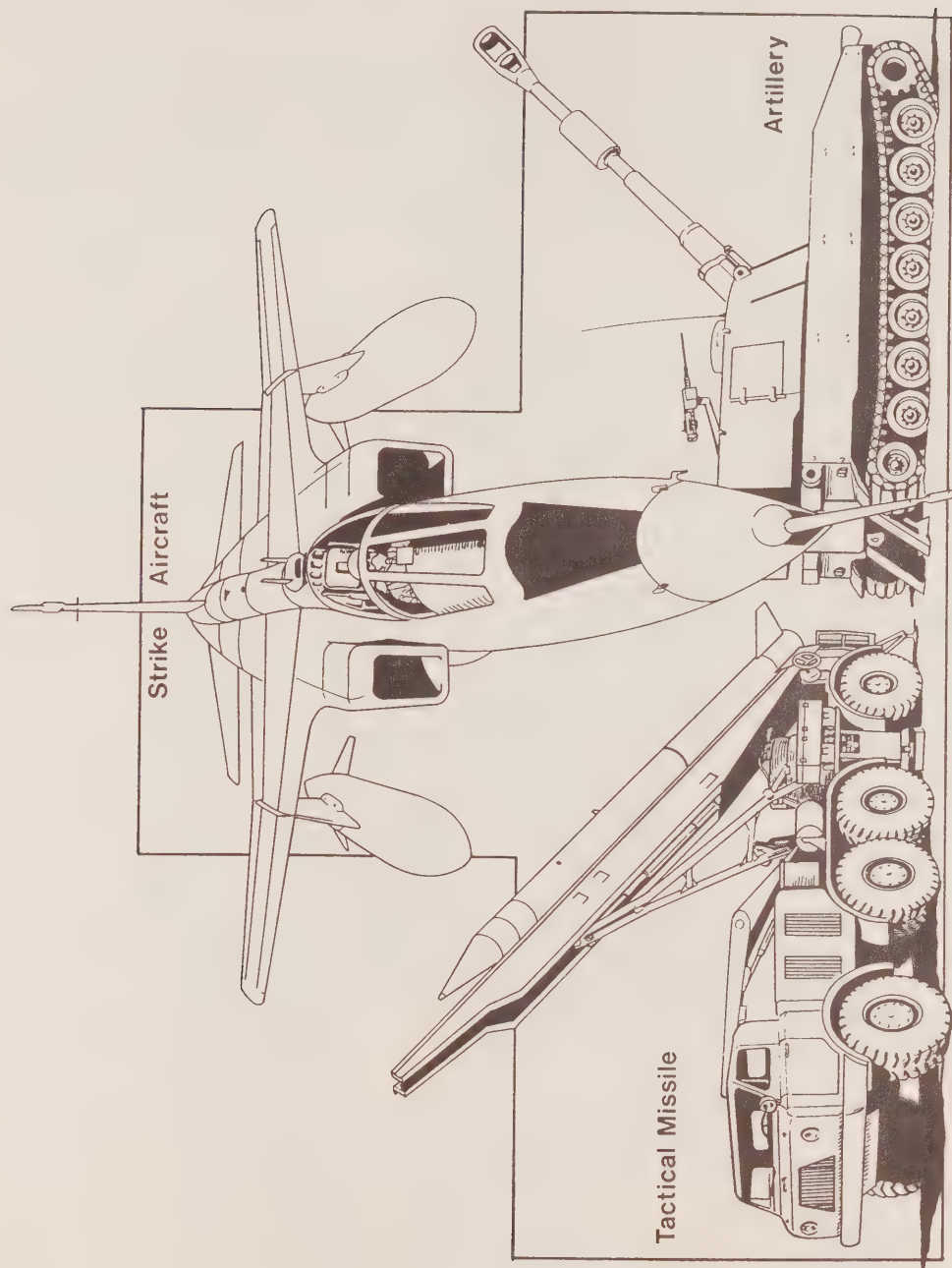
SOVIET MEDIUM RANGE NUCLEAR SYSTEMS



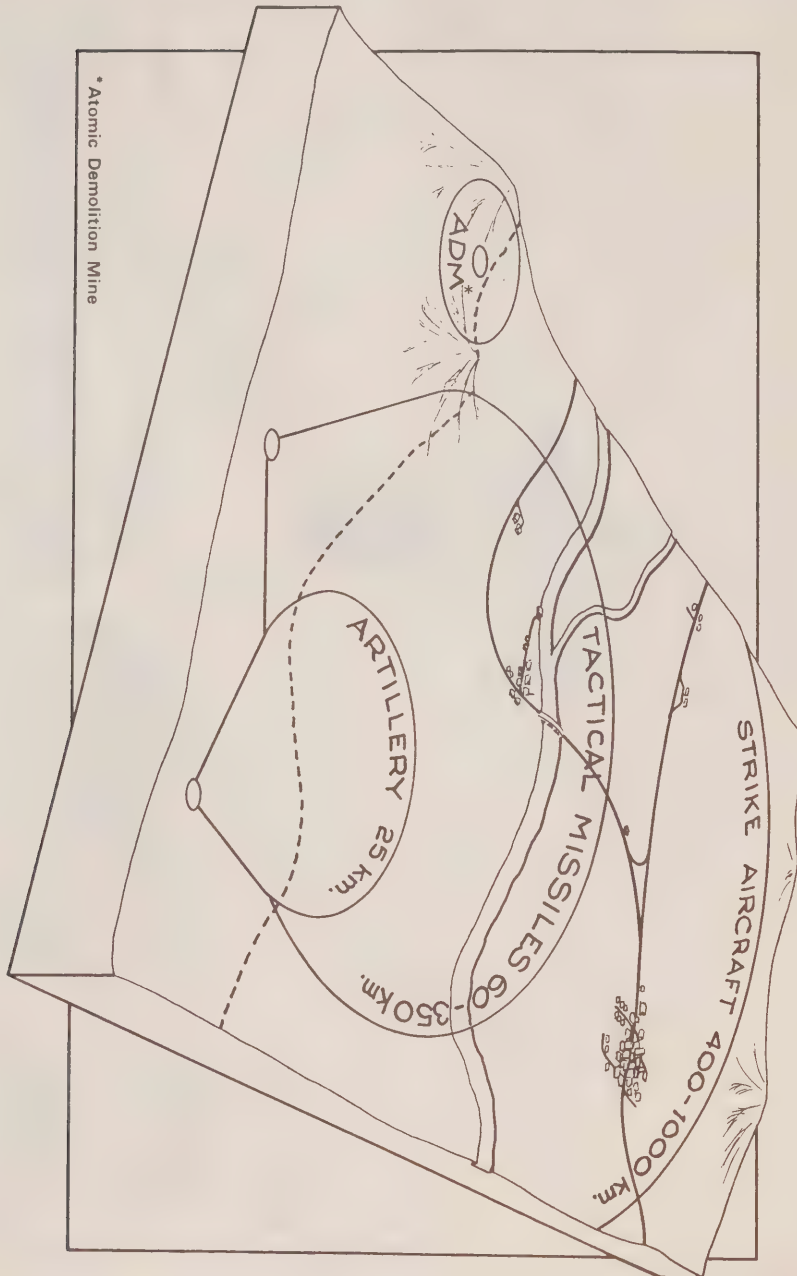
APPENDIX B19
SOVIET MEDIUM RANGE NUCLEAR SYSTEMS



APPENDIX B19 SHORT RANGE NUCLEAR SYSTEMS



APPENDIX B19 SHORT RANGE NUCLEAR SYSTEMS



APPENDIX B20

HOW IS THE DECISION MADE TO USE NUCLEAR WEAPONS?

Introduction

Deterrence (from NATO's point of view) is meant to convince the Soviet Union that there is nothing to be gained in attacking Western Europe or North America. This is done by threatening to use nuclear weapons against the Soviets if they were to attack in force. But what if the Soviets attacked Western Europe, and NATO had to decide whether or not to use nuclear weapons? How would NATO make this decision?

Consultation

NATO (the North Atlantic Treaty Organization) is an alliance of 16 nations including Canada, the United States and most of Western Europe. An important principle in NATO is that before decisions are made, the NATO allies consult among each other. This means that the members of NATO discuss significant issues before decisions are taken. Before the decision is made to use nuclear weapons in Europe, there are plans for the NATO allies to consult with each other. There are several factors which will make this consultation difficult.

- 1) In the case of Soviet attack, NATO plans call for the option of using a full range of weapons, including nuclear weapons, if this is necessary. This strategy is called "flexible response". This means NATO commanders need straightforward and clear procedures to get permission to use nuclear weapons. On the other hand, NATO governments will want to be consulted before any decision is made to use these weapons. This will delay permission to commanders on the battlefield.
- 2) The consultation process between NATO members must be carried out without delay in a crisis, but be thorough enough that a premature and potentially bad decision is not made.
- 3) When carrying out its consultations, NATO is committed to consider the opinions of: a) the country which owns the nuclear weapons (mostly the United States), b) the country from which the weapons will be launched or detonated, and c) the NATO country over which the weapons will in fact explode.

Procedure for Permission to Use Nuclear Weapons

The NATO procedure for permission to use nuclear weapons in Europe is complex and the details are secret. The broad outline has been discussed in books and articles, however, and goes as follows:

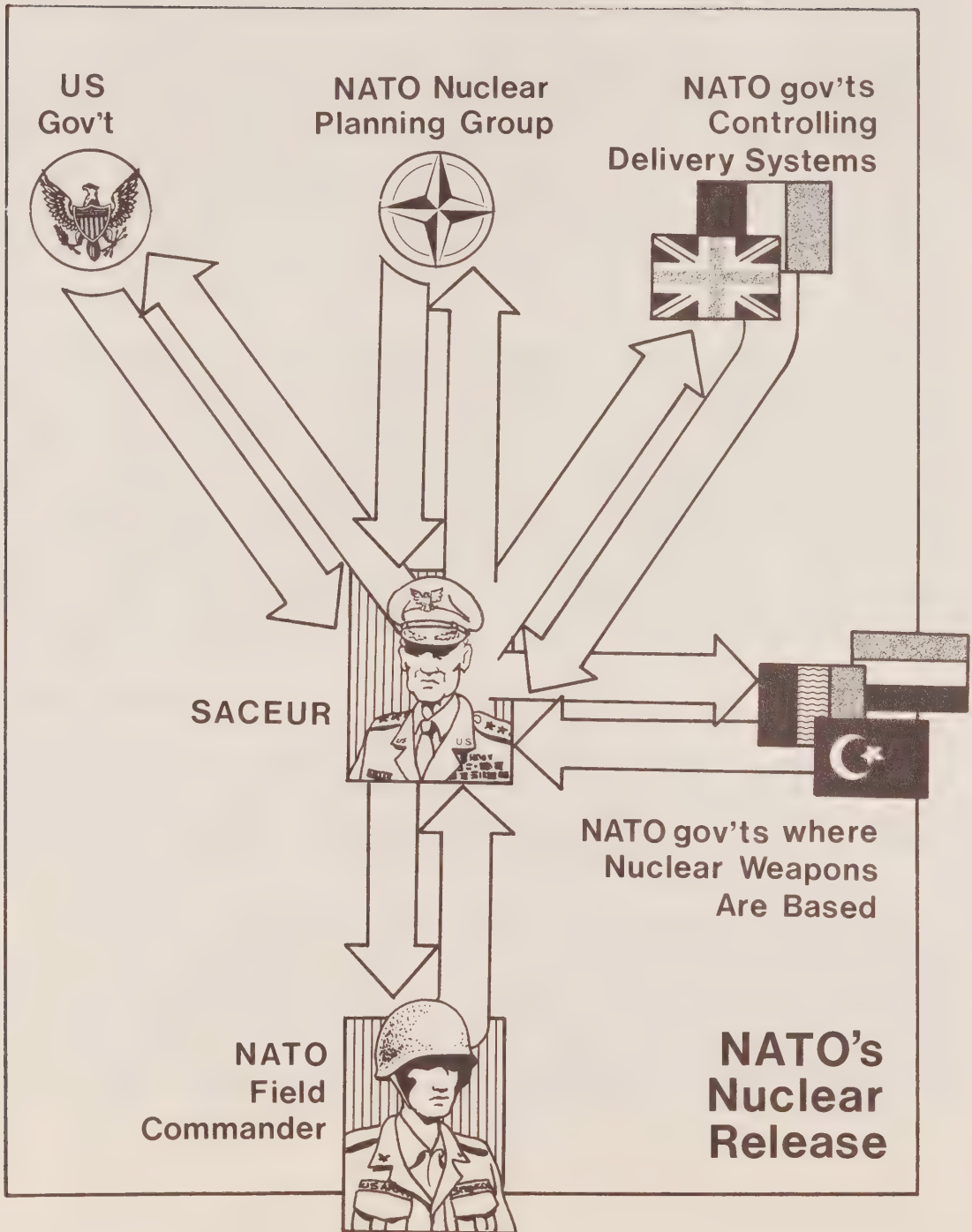
- 1) The procedure begins in the battlefield with the military commander first requesting the use of nuclear weapons.
- 2) The request goes up the chain of command until it reaches NATO's Supreme Allied Commander in Europe (SACEUR).
- 3) The request is passed through SACEUR on to the NATO Defence Planning Committee for consultation.
- 4) NATO authorities request a NATO nuclear member (most probably the United States) to release the appropriate nuclear weapons.
- 5) In some cases, the United States controls nuclear warheads in Europe, while another NATO country controls the means by which they are delivered (for instance, on a missile). NATO must get permission to use these delivery systems.
- 6) NATO must seek approval to use nuclear weapons from those countries where these weapons are based.
- 7) If approval is granted by all the appropriate bodies and individuals, permission is given to military commanders to use nuclear weapons.

Other Complications

There are two final considerations one must take into account when looking at this procedure. Britain possesses its own nuclear weapons which are committed to serve the NATO alliance. In the case of extreme national emergency, however, Britain reserves for itself the right to use its nuclear weapons as it sees fit. France also has its own nuclear weapons but unlike Britain, it does not participate in NATO's nuclear planning process. There is the question then of how France might use its nuclear weapons in a conflict.

It is thought that the NATO release procedure for nuclear weapons which is outlined above would take at least 24 hours to complete. At the same time, it is possible that a request to use nuclear weapons might be made by SACEUR himself before a local commander makes such a request.

APPENDIX B20



APPENDIX B21

INTERDEPENDENCE: THE COMMUNITY OF NATIONS

"Interdependence" means two or more persons, organizations, or even states depend on each other for certain things. This mutual dependence, or interdependence among states is said to have grown greatly in the 20th century. What makes this development important to an understanding of international relations is that interdependence involves costs. States have a significant stake in their relationship with each other. For example, if oil from the Middle East goes up in price, this will increase the price of oil around the world. A farmer in Western Canada will then have to cope with higher prices for diesel fuel and gasoline for his machinery, making it more expensive to produce food.

A Community of Nations

Growing interdependence is said to be leading to a world which is a community of nations. In this community of nations, when decisions are made in one state, they can have a tremendous effect on other states. This means that it is becoming more difficult for states to solve problems on their own. It also means that we can no longer think of "power" or "influence" in strictly military terms. Because states are more and more interdependent, power and influence can be exerted in many non-military ways. As the oil example above shows, power can be thought of as control over crucial resources. Another example is a state which is very advanced in the fields of technology and science. This state can be said to possess power by virtue of having knowledge which very few others possess. In a world of global communications, ideas can be a great source of power and influence. These are only some of the ways one can think of power in an interdependent world.

How has this happened?

One can say that there are two factors which have led to a world that is interdependent. The first factor is the evolution of such things as science, technology and the world economy. Today, one can talk to people thousands of miles away, travel to their homes in hours, or buy their goods in a local department store. These interconnections are growing and help create common interests and concerns.

A reflection of these growing interconnections is the importance of transnational actors. A transnational actor is an organization, other than the government, which operates not in one state alone, but in several states. An example of this is the Red Cross which operates around the world and carries out its work and pursues its goals regardless of borders. A particular type of transnational actor is the multinational corporation (MNC). An MNC is a business which carries out its operations around the world. It builds its plants and draws its resources from whatever country suits its needs. An example of an MNC is the Ford Motor Company.

At the same time, leaders in some countries have come to the conclusion that their people share some common interests with others. They have tried to promote these interests by building international organizations. An international organization is a body established by several states to carry out a specific task or tasks. The best-known, and most complex example of this is the United Nations (UN). The UN was formed because it was believed that all countries shared a common interest in peace, and the UN could and would promote peace.

But what does it Mean?

Those who stress the interdependence of the world argue that we now must look at international relations in a different light. For example, interdependence means that security must be defined more broadly than merely by military needs. Threats such as those to the environment, to the world economy and even threats to world health can be considered security threats. This view of what threatens security means that military responses are no longer the only way to ensure security, and in fact, are probably not the best way.

Interdependence makes the relationship between states more complex and suggests that states will make various coalitions in order to pursue their goals. For example, Canada might ally itself with one particular group of states in order to reduce acid rain, and another group of states in order to better manage the world's fisheries. There will be changes in the make-up of these coalitions depending on the issues at hand. Simple distinctions between North and South, East and West, the rich and the poor no longer provide a sufficient explanation of international relations.

States may also seek the assistance of international organizations in order to cope with problems which extend beyond national borders. Another possibility is to join together to create new international organizations to deal with new problems as they develop. Simply put, those who believe that the world is increasingly interdependent argue that peace and security can no longer be provided by states acting alone in their self-interest.

APPENDIX B22

THE IMPACT OF INTERDEPENDENCE: THE BRUNDTLAND REPORT

In 1987, the World Commission on Environment and Development presented its report (often referred to as the Brundtland Report after its chairperson, Prime Minister Brundtland of Norway) to the UN Secretary General. The report has sparked a lively debate on the impact and consequences of interdependence.

The Brundtland Report argues that the well-being, and even survival of humanity, depends on our success in pursuing sustainable development. Sustainable development means economic development that does not exhaust and destroy the earth's resources. It is a view of development which takes into account the needs of future, as well as present generations. It also takes into account the rights of all people to participate in sustained human progress.

Currently, many states are pursuing development paths which are unsustainable. The Commission sees evidence of unsustainable development in the Third World, as the poorer states are known. In order to overcome hunger, illiteracy and homelessness, these states over-exploit their resources in an attempt to keep up, or maintain their already low standard of living. This low standard of living is brought on by debt, an inability to gain access to world markets for their goods, and unwise national economic policies.

Unsustainable development is equally evident in the industrial nations. In the industrial world, where the standard of living is high, the pace of economic development is too high, and ill-planned to sustain progress indefinitely. According to the Commission, the states of the world manage their resources without looking at the long-term implications of their policies on the earth's environment.

The problem is truly one of global proportion, involving all states. The nature of each state's economy is closely linked to the environment and environmental concerns are clearly international in scope. Environmental degradation such as the destruction of the rain forest, the effects of acid rain, nuclear fallout, ozone depletion and the greenhouse effect, does not stop at national borders. For instance, in Nepal the cutting down of the trees of the Himalayan forest for much needed fuel causes floodwaters to gush down the mountains flooding areas in Nepal, India, and Bangladesh. Similarly, acid rain pollution is a problem that faces all of North America and all of Europe, and not just the heavily industrialized regions which produce the pollutants.

Unless both ecological and economic problems are viewed as a threat to the security of all mankind, international conflict will increase and peace will be unattainable. Environmental stress is both a cause and a result of political tension and military conflict. It is a cause because states fight over territory and resources. Climatic changes also cause a disruption in agricultural patterns which lead to mass movements of people (even across national boundaries), which in turn causes conflict between states.

Environmental degradation is also a result of political tension and military conflict. In a most obvious sense, armed conflict is destructive of the environment, destroying agricultural lands and displacing whole populations from their natural habitat. Of equal significance, however, is the fact that the attempt to maintain national security through military strength directs limited resources to armament instead of sustainable development.

According to the Brundtland Report, the task of all governments, politicians, and citizens is to seek a common security by promoting sustainable development. A common, secure future can be achieved for all states if they act now to sustain the environment. The world must act together to remove the growing environmental sources of conflict.

APPENDIX B23
SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Canadian Council for International Cooperation
1 Nicholas Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1N 7B6
(613) 236-4547

Public Affairs Branch
Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA)
Place du Centre
200 Promenade du Portage
Hull, Quebec
K1A 0G4
(613) 953-6060

Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO)
135 Rideau Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1N 9K7
(613) 563-1242

Department of External Affairs
Foreign Policy Information and Publications
125 Sussex Drive
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0G2
(613) 996-3709

International Development Research Centre (IDRC)
250 Albert Street
P.O. Box 8500
Ottawa, Ontario
K1G 3H9
(613) 236-6163

North-South Institute
55 Murray Street
Suite 200
Ottawa, Ontario
K1N 5M3
(613) 236-3535

Oxfam Canada
301-251 Laurier Ave. West
Ottawa, Ontario
K1P 5J6
(613) 237-5236

Royal Commonwealth Society
111-969 Bronson Avenue
Ottawa, Ontario
K1S 4G8
(613) 235-9856

United Nations Association in Canada
63 Sparks Street
Suite 808
Ottawa, Ontario
K1P 5A6
(613) 232-5751

APPENDIX B24

WHEN SOMEONE CHANGES THE NATURE OF THE GAME

Imagine the following situation:

You are the member of a street gang in the downtown area of a big city. There are six gangs operating there. The gangs have been around for years. In many cases, the parents of the young people in the current gangs were in the same gangs years before. All of the gangs operate separately and have little formal contact with each other.

The gangs have staked out territories over which they have total control. These territories have been established after years of fighting. Interestingly, the fighting among the gangs has been highly controlled by the gangs themselves. All the gangs agreed that any fighting would be done without the use of weapons. Often, rather than having a gang "rumble", a dispute would be settled by each gang selecting a champion to represent them in a fist fight. The winner's gang was declared the winner of the dispute. These agreements on fighting kept violence and serious injuries to a minimum. Everyone seemed to be happy with the arrangement.

Suddenly one of the gangs invaded the territory of a neighbouring gang. They arrived armed with hand guns. In the fight that erupted, one person was shot and killed. The gang armed with hand guns quickly took over the street they invaded.

What Will You Do?: A Role Play

You are now in a group of five gang leaders. You are the member of your gang elected to represent them at the important meeting of all the gang leaders. You are meeting on neutral ground (a local restaurant) to discuss the new situation and what ought to be done about it.

As a group discuss the following questions:

1. You are meeting together for practically the first time in history. What is the goal of this meeting?
2. List all the courses of action that are possible in order to achieve the goals of this meeting.
3. As a group, decide on a course of action to deal with the activities of the armed gang.
4. Why did you elect to do these things?
5. Why did you reject the other courses of action?

APPENDIX B25
WHAT GIVES STATES POWER?

The following is a list of things one could argue contribute to a state's power. Is there anything you would add or remove from this list? Why?

- 1) Highly industrialized economy.
- 2) Well-educated population.
- 3) Nuclear weapons.
- 4) Strategic location.
- 5) Well-developed communications and transportation networks.
- 6) Large army.
- 7) Citizens committed to the country and its government.
- 8) High regard in the international community.
- 9) Modern military equipment.
- 10) Ability to develop new and useful technology.
- 11) Effective health care system.
- 12) Membership in a military alliance.
- 13) Easy access to energy resources (eg. oil, hydro-electric power).
- 14) Strong, decisive government.
- 15) Easy access to natural resources such as precious metals, forest products, fresh water.

APPENDIX B26

THE BALANCE OF POWER

'Power' is probably the most often used concept in international politics. In fact, it is argued by some that power is the ultimate aim of international politics. According to this reasoning, when states attempt to reach a goal, they do so by striving for power and making use of it. Leaders seek to promote the interest of their state and they do this by manipulating power. This model of politics is often referred to as 'power politics'.

What is Power?

Broadly speaking, power is the ability of actor A to get actor B to do X, or prevent him from doing Y. In other words, power is anything that allows one to control or influence another. A frequent measure of power in international politics is military power. Force, and the elements that contribute to the successful maintenance and use of force, are seen as the most certain way for a state to ensure that its interests are promoted.

Power is not only found through force, however. To some extent, power is determined by what is considered acceptable by the current political environment. For instance, even though a state may lack military power, it may be powerful because a position it holds on an issue is backed up by international law. In such a case, the weight of international law and international public opinion may prevent another state from taking an action which would contravene that law and public opinion.

When trying to judge the power a state can bring to bear in a situation, one must look carefully at the factors which contribute to a state's power in each particular case. Often it is true that the power provided by potential military force may be only a small part of a state's total power.

The Balance of Power

It is argued that each state tries to maintain and even increase its power in order to defend its interests. This constant jockeying for power creates what is called a balance of power system. Within this system, most leaders pursue policies designed to preserve a balance or equilibrium with the power possessed by others.

The goal of states in a balance of power system is to maintain the stability of the system and their own independence: to prevent any one state, or group of states, from becoming so strong that it prevents the others from pursuing their own interests. The important concept is 'balance'. Most often, this is achieved by the formation of alliances which combine the power of several countries in order to offset the power of others.

This balance of power system is in a constant state of change with each country seeking to add to its power. Since it is difficult to calculate accurately the balance of power, states must allow for a margin of safety and therefore pursue superior power for themselves. This means that there is a continual state of competition. Given this continual state of competition, leaders must judge the wisdom of their policies in terms of power. Will a particular decision add to or diminish one's power? How will it affect the power of allies and opponents alike? Only by making decisions in terms of power, can leaders hope to preserve the peace and the independence of their states.

APPENDIX B27

VIEWS OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Introduction

When a state considers questions of peace and security, the questions its leaders raise, and the answers they arrive at depend largely on how they view the world. Leaders who decide what the security needs of their country are do this after making assumptions and conclusions about the major features of world politics or international relations.

What about International Relations?

How do states behave in the world? Why do they act the way they do? Are states the only important actors one must consider? How are decisions made by states? What is the most important goal to be pursued in world politics? These are only some of the challenging questions raised when you ask the question "What about international relations--how does it work?" People have many ideas on this subject. These ideas lead to conclusions about what threatens international peace and security and how a state should react to that threat. To show how this happens, consider two general views of international relations. These views can be called 1) the "community of nations" or "interdependence" view and, 2) the "balance of power" or "realist" view.

Realism

Actors

The state is the primary actor.

Motives

The state pursues its national interest. Policies must serve the national interest and strengthen the state. Force continues to be a useful instrument to pursue policies.

The System

A balance-of-power system is created when each state pursues its own national interests. This balance-of-power system, states try to arrange

Community of Nations

Actors

The state, transnational actors, and international organizations.

Motives

The state pursues its national interest but recognizes that this alone will not provide security. Force is a costly instrument which is becoming increasingly ineffective and dangerous. Collective security is suggested as a possible way to control the use of force.

The System

The world has changed greatly since the turn of the century. Interdependence is growing and states cannot operate on their own, and must recognize that their actions

their affairs so that no single state dominates. States often do this by forming alliances.

have an impact on others. The state still dominates as in a balance-of-power system but other actors play an important role in the international system as well. Actors such as international organizations can be useful in carrying out policy and moderating conflict.

The Future of International Relations

From the realist point of view, states have always been motivated by national interest. States must realize that this is the way the world really is and will be for some time to come. For this reason, people who hold this view call themselves "realists".

The Future of International Relations

States are capable of moving beyond simple national interest and could make use of international organizations, and other cooperative instruments to improve relations among states. The world is a "community of nations" in which each state must take community interests into account when making policy.

Of course, there are more views of international relations than the "realism" and "community of nations" approaches outlined above. These two views are, however, quite commonly held and serve to illustrate the point that such views shape the way leaders interpret behaviour in international relations and make their decisions in order to react to that behaviour.

If leaders believe that the realism viewpoint is the way the world works, they will make their decisions on this basis, and will be inclined to maintain their state's security through alliances and military strength. They use these means because they view states as being highly competitive and pursuing their own national interests. Because of this, they must maintain their own state's strength and power in order to protect its interests.

A leader who views the world as a community of nations believes that there is considerable potential for cooperation among states. Such a leader will support cooperative measures among states and international institutions as a way of enhancing each state's security. The security of the community is seen as crucial to the security of individual states.

Most states pursue policies influenced by both "realism" and "community of nations", with a greater emphasis on one or the other. Disagreements over how a state should act in the international system are often the result of different opinions on how this system works in the first place.

Terms

Alliance: An alliance can be defined as a group which pursues common interests. In international relations, an alliance is usually characterized by the pursuit by several states of common military interests.

Balance-of-Power: This term is used in many ways but is usually defined as a state of affairs in international relations in which no state is overwhelmingly more powerful than any other state or group of states. Leaders usually seek to maintain this balance.

Collective Security: This is a system which calls for all states to join their power together to punish any state which carries out an aggressive act. It is argued that this overwhelming power would deter aggression. "Collective security" is often used, however, to simply refer to an alliance.

Interdependence: This refers to a situation in which the interactions of states have a significant effect on each state.

International Organization: An international organization is a body established by several states to carry out a specific function or functions. The best known and most complex international organization is the United Nations.

National Interest: The national interest is that which is considered to be best for the state. This is usually determined by the leaders of the state.

Power: Power is the ability of actor A to get actor B to do X, or prevent him from doing Y. In international relations, this power is often measured in terms of military and economic strength.

State: The state is a political unit that has absolute (or nearly absolute) rule over its subjects and the right to be free from interference from other states in the exercise of its rule. This rule takes place within defined geographic borders.

Transnational Actors: These are organizations other than the government which operate not in one country alone, but in several countries. An example of a transnational actor is the International Red Cross. A category of transnational actors is the multinational corporation (MNC). An MNC is a corporation which has operations around the world; for instance, the Ford Motor Company.

APPENDIX B27

THE KOREAN WAR AND THE BALANCE OF POWER

The Korean War

From 1910-1945, Korea was a colony of Japan. When Japan was defeated in the Second World War, the Soviet Union occupied the north of Korea, while the United States occupied the south.

Neither the Soviet Union nor the US could agree on elections which would unite Korea. The result was two Koreas. North Korea was under the influence of the Soviet Union, and South Korea was under the influence of the US.

On June 25, 1950, North Korean troops crossed the 38th parallel of latitude which marked the border with South Korea. On June 27, the UN Security Council passed a resolution calling upon UN members to provide military aid to assist the UN in resisting the North Korean invasion. Normally it would have been expected that the Soviets would have vetoed the UN's action. The USSR is one of the five permanent UN Security Council members which can prevent the Security Council from taking an action by voting against it. The Soviet ambassador did not attend the June 27 session, however, and therefore did not vote. In October 1950, the number of states fighting in the war grew when the Chinese entered on the side of North Korea.

The Korean War ended with a truce signed on July 27, 1953, although a peace treaty has never been signed. It established the border between the two Koreas where it had been before the war began: the 38th parallel. Although 14 countries (including Canada) sent troops and 32 sent aid, the UN forces fighting in Korea were mostly American troops. The UN troops were also under the unified command of the United States.

What role did the Balance of Power play in the war?

One can see the balance of power working in at least three stages of the Korean War: 1) the decision to start the war; 2) the decision of the US to aid South Korea; and, 3) the decision of the Chinese to enter the war.

The decision to start the war

It is generally believed that the Soviet Union encouraged North Korea to go to war, or at least did nothing to stop them. There are several reasons why Soviet leader Joseph Stalin might have desired such a conflict.

- 1) The US was in the process of drawing up a peace treaty with Japan and establishing military bases there. The defeat of South Korea by the North would enable the Soviets to counter growing US influence in Asia.

- 2) The war in Korea was meant to be a test of US willingness to resist Soviet aggression. How the US reacted to this war would help determine what actions the Soviets would take elsewhere in the world.
- 3) The war would serve to remind Communist China that the Soviet Union was still the leader of world communism. Soviet leader Joseph Stalin may have feared the ambitions of Chinese leader Chairman Mao. A successful war in Korea would increase Soviet influence in Asia.



The decision of the US to aid South Korea

- 1) US President Truman believed the US had to aid Korea or "we can expect it [communism] to spread throughout Asia and Europe to this hemisphere." Should South Korea be defeated, the US feared it would be the first of a chain of communist victories. These victories would upset the balance of power in favour of the Soviets.
- 2) Vigorous US support to South Korea would deter any hostile act by communist China against non-communist Nationalist China (now known as Taiwan).
- 3) The US also saw the Korean War as a challenge to the United Nations' ability to maintain world peace. If the UN did not take action against aggression, it would be viewed as weak and ineffective.

The decision of China to enter the war

China entered the Korean War in October 1950 after United Nations troops pushed into North Korea and approached the border with China.

- 1) The US was aiding the reconstruction of Japan, a traditional enemy of China's. China likely viewed the US as taking the place of Japan as a threat to the Chinese.
- 2) UN troops pursued the war right up to the Chinese border and attacked hydro-electric stations in North Korea which served North Korea and the Chinese province of Manchuria. The Chinese would not allow these actions to go on without a military response.

As can be seen, all of these considerations involve calculations of the balance of power.

APPENDIX B28

CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE BALANCE OF POWER

The Past

The countries of Central America were initially colonies of Spain. Wars of independence drove the Spanish out in the early 19th century. Spain left behind societies which were generally poor, with the existing wealth and power in the hands of very few.

After the Spanish left, the United States came to dominate Central America. The US supported friendly governments with both foreign and military aid. It also used its own troops on several occasions to put down rebellions in the region.

Revolution in Nicaragua

Conditions have not improved greatly for the people of this region and poverty and inequality still dominate. Unrest has grown in Central America and revolutionary movements are fighting the governments of Guatemala and El Salvador. In 1979, the government of Nicaragua was overthrown by the Sandinista National Liberation Front, commonly known as the Sandinistas. The victory of the Sandinistas in 1979 greatly alarmed the United States.

The United States, under President Ronald Reagan, argued that the Sandinistas were communist and were supported by the Soviet Union. The US accused the Sandinistas of wanting to spread revolution throughout Central America by supporting communist rebels. This would lead to the overthrow of the governments of the region.

The Balance of Power

The US argued that the Sandinistas must be stopped because their activities would give the Soviet Union an opportunity to expand its influence in Central America. This threatened US security and would upset the balance of power in favour of the Soviets.

To halt this perceived growth of Soviet-style communism in Central America, the US put considerable pressure on Nicaragua. It cut its trade with Nicaragua, carried out numerous military exercises near Nicaragua's borders, and funded the *contras*. The *contras* are a Nicaraguan fighting force which was created to overthrow the Sandinista government.

Not everyone agreed with the Reagan Administration that the Sandinistas caused a shift in the balance of power in Central America. Those who disagreed with US policy argued that the growth of left-wing and communist rebel forces has been due to continuing poverty, and the harshness and abuses of the ruling governments in the region. The conflicts occurring in Central America are said to be mainly the result of internal problems and not external forces such as the Soviet Union.



APPENDIX B27

ANGOLA AND THE BALANCE OF POWER

Until recently, the civil war in Angola has been a clear case of the actions of outside powers contributing to, and making worse, a regional conflict. In the immediate past, Angola was caught up in the balance of power played out by South Africa, the Soviet Union and the United States.

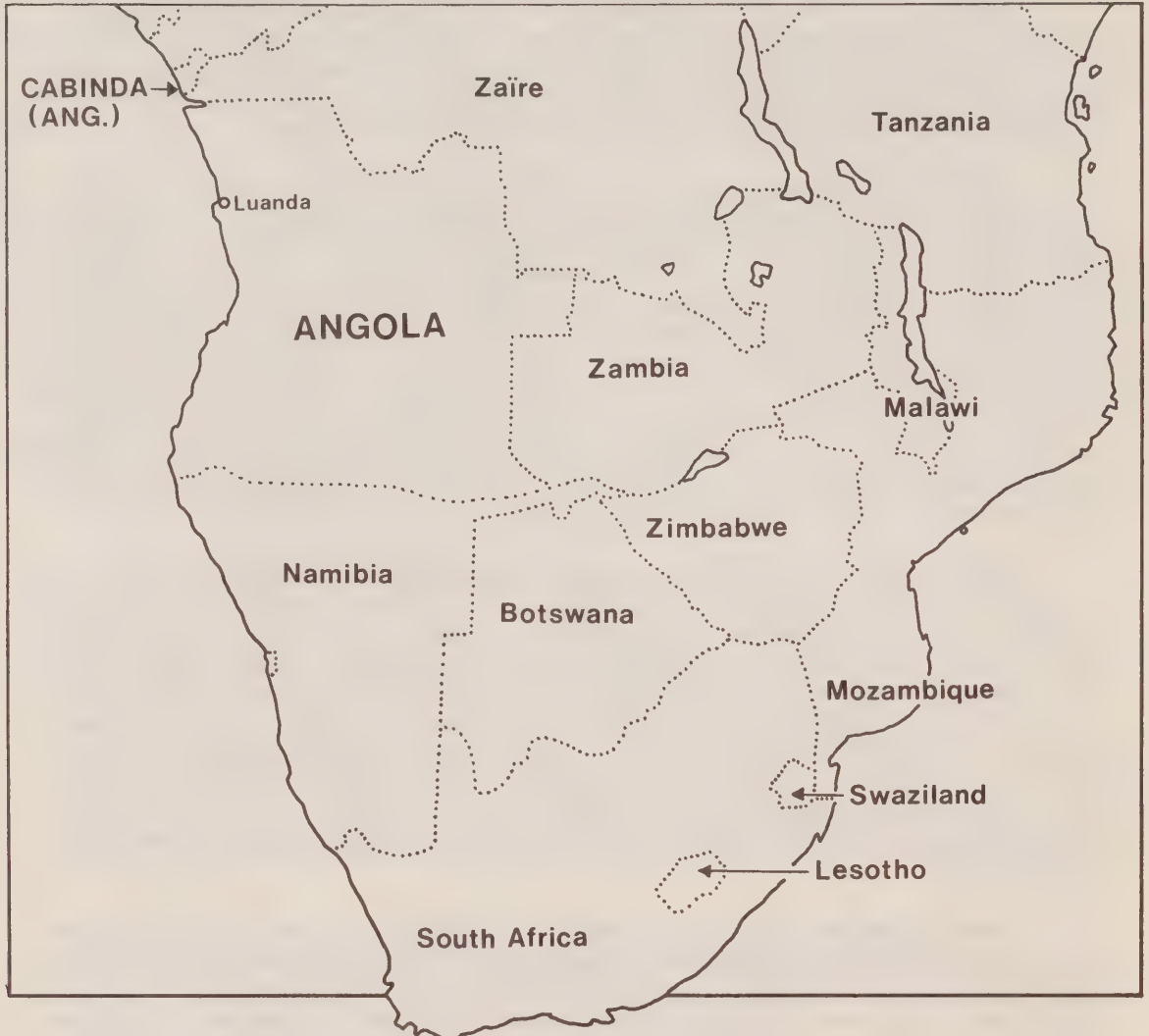
Angola: Until 1975, Angola was an African colony of Portugal. Guerrilla warfare by Angolan liberation movements began against the Portuguese in the early 1960's. The three major national liberation movements were: the FNLA (National Front for the Liberation of Angola), the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola), and UNITA (Union for the Total Independence of Angola).

In 1974, the Portuguese government decided that it could not militarily defeat the guerrilla movements in Angola and its colonial involvement in Africa was too costly. In January 1975, Portugal signed an agreement with the FNLA, the MPLA, and UNITA by which the three national liberation movements would form a provisional government. This would be followed by elections which would determine the new government. Cooperation quickly broke down between these three and developed into open fighting. The MPLA sought assistance from the Soviet Union, and in November 1975, the Soviet Union began a massive airlift of Cuban troops into Angola to fight off the FNLA and UNITA. The FNLA was driven out of Angola but UNITA, supported by South Africa, was not. Today, UNITA still dominates the south-east of the country. The Soviet airlift, however, enabled the MPLA to gain control of enough of the country to declare itself the government of the new People's Republic of Angola.

South Africa: South Africa is separated from Angola by Namibia. South Africa occupied Namibia since 1920, when the League of Nations asked South Africa to administer this former German colony. Despite repeated calls from the international community, South Africa refused to give up the territory and did battle with the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO). SWAPO's goal was an independent Namibia and it carried out a guerrilla war against the South Africans. Angola allowed SWAPO to establish training bases, and supply routes within its borders in order to carry out its attacks. The South African response was to carry out military raids into Angola in order to attack SWAPO. In addition, in order to further its goal of weakening or destroying SWAPO, it supported UNITA in its continuing war against the government of Angola.

Soviet Union and Cuba: The Soviet Union and Cuba were involved in Angola since the early 1960's when the fighting against the Portuguese began. In 1961, Cuban instructors began training MPLA guerrillas and the Soviet Union soon followed with aid of its own. For many years, the Soviet Union had a policy of supporting national liberation movements, movements which sought to end colonial rule and make their countries independent. By doing so, the Soviet Union sought to gain influence with new governments in the Third World and promote its interests. Because some of the

members of these national liberation movements are communist, the Soviets have supported their struggles, again to have influence in the future. Cuba, being communist and an ally of the Soviet Union, has also sought to encourage communist victories elsewhere. By supporting these victories, it too hoped to raise its prestige in the communist and Third World.



United States: The United States has, since the Second World War, sought to contain, and if possible, reduce Soviet influence around the world. To help do this, it has promoted governments and groups sympathetic to its interests. In particular, the US has worked to reduce the presence of the Soviets in the region of southern Africa. It viewed Soviet support for Angola as another attempt by the Soviets to undermine American interests. For this reason, the United States supported UNITA's efforts against the government of Angola. Support for UNITA prevented the MPLA government from gaining total control of Angola. The purpose of this was to put pressure on the Angolan government to come to an agreement with its opponents on some form of shared power.

Recent Developments: In the late 1980's, several factors came together to begin to unravel the conflict in Angola. In 1987, a major South African offensive in Angola was held back by Cuban and Angolan troops. The growing military stalemate made the war increasingly costly for South Africa.

At this same time, the Soviet Union, under Mikhail Gorbachev, began to back away from involvement in regional conflicts. In the case of the Angolan conflict, it is believed that the Soviets pushed both Cuba and Angola to participate in a settlement of the conflict. In May 1988, talks began between Angola, Cuba and South Africa, mediated by the United States. This led to an agreement in December.

The agreement called for South Africa to grant independence to Namibia through a process outlined in UN Security Council Resolution 435 which was passed in 1978. In addition, Cuba agreed to withdraw all its troops from Angola by July 1, 1991. Six months after the agreement was signed at the UN in New York, it was announced that UNITA and the government of Angola had settled on a ceasefire in their conflict. This was followed by discussions on the future of Angola.

The people of Namibia voted for the first time in their history in November 1989. The vote was observed by the United Nations. Those elected to the new Namibian Constituent Assembly drafted a constitution, and Namibia is now an independent state which has taken its seat in the United Nations.

The conflict in Angola is not settled. A settlement is more likely, however, now that the US, USSR and South Africa have reduced their jockeying for power and influence in this region of Africa.

APPENDIX B28

TESTING YOUR UNDERSTANDING OF THE BALANCE OF POWER (WORKSHEET)

Instructions:

This activity will help you to test your understanding of the idea of a balance of power. You will find attached a short description of three (3) international events. Read all of the cases and then choose two (2) that interest you. For each event that you have chosen, reproduce the form below in your notebooks and answer the questions.

Title of Event: _____

a) Who were the major actors in this event?

b) Which of the following forms of power is illustrated by the case? Put a check mark beside the answers of your choice.

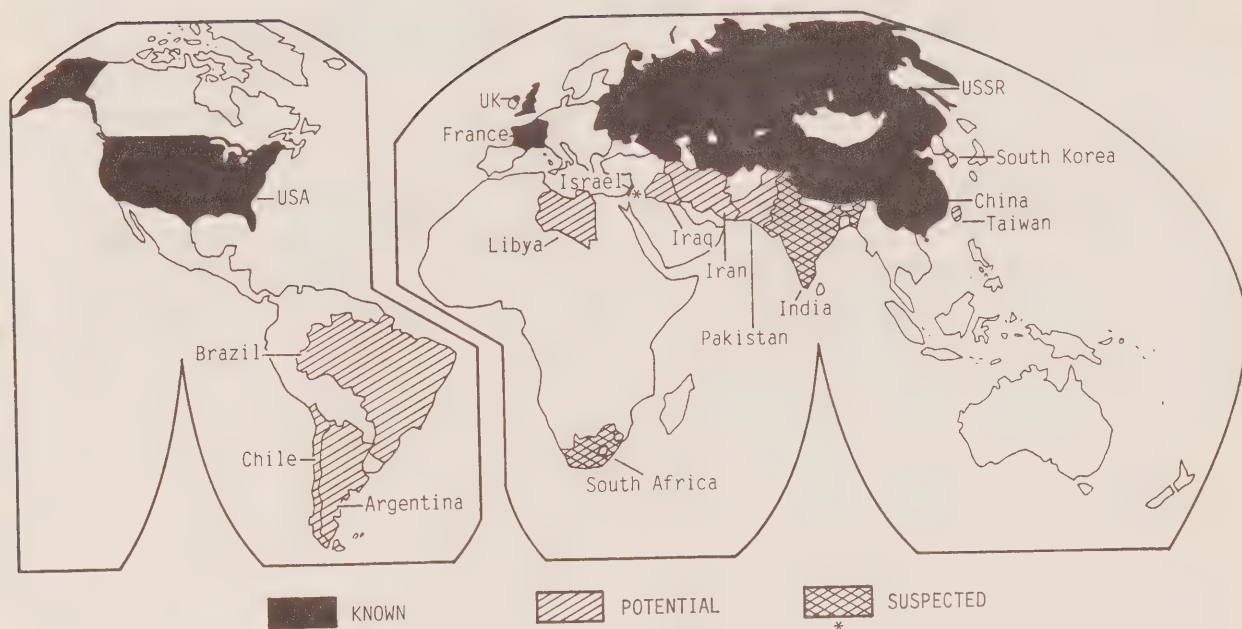
Military	_____
Political	_____
Industry	_____
Natural Resources	_____
Population	_____
Strategic Location	_____

c) Give at least one example from the case study which illustrates each of the forms of power that you selected in b).

- d) In this case study, was the balance of power **upset, reestablished** or **not affected** by those who were involved?

- e) Briefly explain your choice of answer to d).

APPENDIX B29 NUCLEAR-WEAPON STATES



Data drawn from: Lawrence Freedman, Atlas of Global Strategy, p. 77.

Explanation of Legend

KNOWN: These are states which have openly declared they possess nuclear weapons.

SUSPECTED: States which are suspected of having secretly deployed nuclear weapons, or having the ability to deploy them quickly.

POTENTIAL: States which are believed to be strongly motivated to develop nuclear weapons.

APPENDIX B30
ADDRESSES OF CANADIAN GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS
AND CANADIAN POLITICAL PARTIES

Government Officials

Prime Minister of Canada
Langevin Block
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0A2

Secretary of State for External Affairs
Department of External Affairs
125 Sussex Drive
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0G2

Minister of National Defence
Department of National Defence
101 Colonel By Drive
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0K2

Political Parties

Liberal Party of Canada
200 Laurier Avenue West
Ottawa, Ontario
K1P 6M8

New Democratic Party of Canada
280 Albert Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1P 5G8

Progressive Conservative Party
of Canada
161 Laurier Avenue West
Ottawa, Ontario
K1P 5J2

APPENDIX B31
UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY proclaims **THIS UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS** as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

Article 1

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 2

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

Article 3

Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

Article 4

No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

Article 5

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading punishment.

Article 6

Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 7

All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

Article 8

Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the

fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

Article 9

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Article 10

Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

Article 11

1. Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.
2. No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

Article 12

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

Article 13

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State.

2. Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

Article 14

1. Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.
2. This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 15

1. Everyone has the right to a nationality.
2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Article 16

1. Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.
2. Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.
3. The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

Article 17

1. Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.
2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Article 18

Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

Article 19

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Article 20

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.
2. No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

Article 21

1. Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.
2. Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.
3. The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

Article 22

Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

Article 23

1. Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.
2. Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.
3. Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.
4. Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

Article 24

Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

Article 25

1. Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.
2. Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

Article 26

1. Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.
2. Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.
3. Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given their children.

Article 27

1. Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.
2. Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

Article 28

Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

Article 29

1. Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.
2. In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.
3. These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 30

Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

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TOPIC:

Introducing the Concept of International Conflict

CONCEPT(S):

International Conflict

ACTIVITY TYPE:

Motivational

OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will realize that the patterns of conflict in their lives suggest some of the reasons for the behaviour of states when they too are in conflict.
2. Students will recognize the difference between personal and international conflict.

RESOURCES:

- * Appendix #C3: Case study on War in the Western Sahara.

STRATEGY:

- * Past Experience with Conflict

Students could be asked to recall the last time that they were in conflict with someone else. Ask them to list the reasons for this conflict, how they dealt with it at the time, who was affected by the conflict (either directly or indirectly), how the conflict was resolved, and what, if any, were the long term consequences of the conflict for those involved? After considering the above questions, students could be put into pairs and asked to prepare a list illustrating the differences in conflicts between individuals and conflicts between states. (Depending on the abilities of the class, the teacher may want to aid the students at this point in the strategy by having them read a newspaper clipping on a current international conflict, or giving them the case of the War in the Western Sahara from Appendix #C3.) Through a brief, general discussion, the teacher could then generate a class list of student perceptions of how personal and international conflicts differ.

- * Cartoons

The teacher can choose a cartoon from the newspaper in which an obvious conflict is taking place. Sometimes these conflicts go on over a period of several days. If this is the case, collect the whole story before doing the exercise. Present the cartoons to the students with all the dialogue bubbles blanked-out. Students in groups are asked to provide the dialogue/thoughts for the bubbles. The stories of all the groups are then compared and the nature of the conflict analyzed.

TOPIC:

International Conflict: Formulating and Solidifying the Concept

CONCEPT(S):

International Conflict

ACTIVITY TYPE:

Developmental

OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will understand the role and significance of both ideas and resources in leading to international conflict.
2. Students will know a variety of specific sources for conflict and be able to classify them under the categories of ideas and resources.

RESOURCES:

- * Appendix #C1: A list of issues that countries have disputes or conflicts about.
- * Appendix #C2: Reading on the Sources of International Conflict.
- * Appendix #D2: A Guide to Political Cartoons

STRATEGY:

- * Brainstorming sources of International Conflict
1. Put students into groups of four or five. In their groups, students are to brainstorm a list of general sources of international conflict.
 2. After allowing 5-8 minutes of brainstorming, student groups are instructed to give an explanation of how each item on their list is a potential source of international conflict and provide a specific example for each. This may require the use of textbooks, current magazines, etc.
 3. Through a class discussion, prepare a common list of sources of international conflict and examples for each. The teacher may wish to compare this to the list provided in Appendix #C1.

* Hot Spots

Have students begin a clippings file of "hot spots" in the world. They should use a variety of sources such as newspapers and magazines. They should collect photographs as well. These could be collected in a file, a scrapbook or arranged as an on-going bulletin board display. A weekly "hot spot" report can be presented by students to the rest of the class.

* Reading: Sources of International Conflict

Appendix #C2 presents a reading on sources of international conflict. Assign this reading. After the reading, the teacher may want to pose the interesting question of what happens when there is a conflict but the other party refuses to acknowledge there is a problem. This can happen when a powerful country simply ignores the complaints of one less powerful. How can a less powerful country overcome such a problem?

* Political Cartoons

1. Using Appendix #D2 as a guideline, have students collect two to three political cartoons over a one week period which deal with international conflict. At the end of the week, put students in groups of four or five and have the group members pool their cartoons. From the pool, the group selects the four or five cartoons they find the most interesting and would most like to do more research on.
2. Using the Canadian Periodical Index, students research the issues represented in the cartoons.
3. Using an overhead transparency of each cartoon chosen, the groups present to the class the issues portrayed and an analysis of each political cartoon.

TOPIC:

Practising and Applying the Concept of International Conflict

CONCEPT(S):

International Conflict

ACTIVITY TYPE:

Application

OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will master and apply the concept of international conflict through activities that permit practice, reinforcement and personalization.

RESOURCES:

- * Appendix #C3: Five (5) case studies of international conflict.
- * Appendix #C4: A general framework for analyzing international conflict.

STRATEGY:

- * Working with Case Studies

Appendix #C3 presents a series of short case studies that illustrate international conflict. Students could be asked to identify the sources of conflict in each case. They might also be asked whether the conflict could have been avoided. Newspaper clippings of recent international conflicts could also be used to carry out this activity.

- * Activity Cards

The teacher could select a number of examples of international conflict and develop a task card for each. The card should direct students to readily available resources and include a series of questions for analyzing the unfamiliar conflict (see Appendix #C4 for a suggested framework for analyzing international conflict). Students are given the cards and permitted to choose one of them to work on. This can become the basis of a contract study in which students research events at differing levels of difficulty and effort (see Appendix #D4).

* Newspaper Walls

China is well known for this method of spreading news. Students in groups could be made responsible for creating a display of the background to a current international conflict. These could then be mounted on large rolls of newsprint and displayed in the cafeteria, bulletin boards in the hall or in school show cases. They could even be displayed at local malls and other public places.

* Collage or Mobile

Students could do a collage or mobile expressing their views or concerns about specific international conflicts or international conflict in general.

TOPIC:

Introducing Instruments for Dealing with International Conflict

CONCEPT(S):

International Conflict

ACTIVITY TYPE:

Motivational

OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will realize that the methods of dealing with conflict in their own lives are relevant to the means that states use in dealing with conflict at the international level.

RESOURCES:

- * Appendix #C5: What Would you Do?: An Introduction to Instruments for Dealing with International Conflict.

STRATEGY:

- * What Would you Do?: An Introduction to Instruments for Dealing with International Conflict

1. Hand out Appendix #C5. Have students make their decisions individually at first.
2. Put students into groups of 3-5 and have them discuss their selections. The group then attempts to reach a consensus on the best course of action for each of the cases.
3. Debrief the class:
 - i) What did you decide to do? Why?
 - ii) What did you see as the advantages/disadvantages to each of the options? When would each be best used? Why?
 - iii) In what ways were the options suggested for dealing with both conflicts similar? How could you categorize these?
4. Put students into pairs for 2 minutes to brainstorm answers to the following question:

"How do you think the methods used by states or groups of states to deal with conflict might be different from the ways in which individuals or groups also deal with conflict?"

5. Take up and discuss the student responses.

*Guest Speaker

Invite a guest speaker from the police or any other agency that customarily resolves conflicts to discuss their methods.

TOPIC:

Instruments for Dealing with International Conflict: Formulating and Solidifying the Concept

CONCEPT(S):

International Conflict

ACTIVITY TYPE:

Developmental

OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will know the methods commonly employed by countries to deal with international conflict.

RESOURCES:

- * Appendix #C6: Reading on Instruments for Dealing with International Conflict.
- * Appendix #C7: A reading that provides an analysis of the causes of World War I.

STRATEGY:

- * Collage

Have students collect headlines and stories from various print media to develop a collage of examples of instruments for dealing with international conflict. Students could be asked to brainstorm a list of words that they would associate with each of the headlines. They could discuss which methods they personally think nations should use and the circumstances under which they ought to be used. Generally, this provides an opportunity to explore student perceptions of the ways that states resolve their differences.

- * Clippings File

Students could begin a clippings file on the subject of instruments for dealing with international conflict from the newspaper. This could eventually be deposited in the school library or resource centre.

* Reading: Instruments for Dealing with International Conflict

Appendix #C6 presents a reading that gives an overview of the instruments for dealing with international conflict which are, or could be employed by states. After the reading, teachers should focus their debriefing on the reasons that certain countries choose to use certain methods and not others. What factors influence these choices? Which instruments might serve to prevent conflict in the first place? Under what circumstances is each type of instrument most appropriate or least appropriate? Why? This could lead to the development of a tentative hypothesis regarding Canada's approach to dealing with international conflict.

* Reading on World War I

Appendix #C7 presents a reading on the causes of war. It should be used to illustrate the difficulty in determining the causes of specific conflicts.

TOPIC:

Practising and Applying Knowledge of Instruments for Dealing with International Conflict

CONCEPT(S):

International Conflict

ACTIVITY TYPE:

Application

OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will master and apply their knowledge of instruments for dealing with international conflict through activities that permit practice, reinforcement and personalization.

RESOURCES:

- * Appendix #A2: Imaginary World.
- * Appendix #B6: Factsheet on Peacekeeping.
- * Appendix #C3: Case studies of international conflict.
- * Appendix #C4: Framework for analyzing international conflict.
- * Appendix #C8: Chart overview of arguments for and against Canada's support of UN peacekeeping.

STRATEGY:

- * How does Canada deal with Conflicts?

Students could be directed to textbooks, films or other sources to collect information about the way that Canada has dealt with a variety of international conflicts. The class could be divided into groups and each group assigned one event. Each group presents its findings in the form of an oral or written presentation to the whole class (or one member of each group could be put into new mixed groups and presentations given only to the smaller groups). Students compare notes and arrive at a summary of Canada's general approach to international conflict.

* Canadian Peacekeeping: A Research Report

Refer students to the Factsheet on peacekeeping found in Appendix #B6. After students have read this general overview, the students could be referred to general texts and library resources to find out what happened in some of the following cases of Canadian involvement in UN peacekeeping: Egypt-Israel/Suez Crisis (1956), Congo (1960-1964), Cyprus (1964-), Afghanistan (1988-), Iran-Iraq (1988-), Namibia (1989-90), Central America (1989-).

For each case of peacekeeping researched, the students could be given a set of guide questions such as the following:

- i) Who were/are the major actors in the conflict?
- ii) How did Canada come to be involved in the operation?
- iii) Was the peacekeeping successful?/Is it likely to be successful? Upon what do you base this judgement?

Students could cover and cross-teach a variety of cases if a Jigsaw I technique were used (see Appendix #D1).

Students could then be directed to the chart found in Appendix #C8. This provides arguments both for and against Canada's continued support of peacekeeping operations. Students could debate the issue, or they could be put into a cooperative discussion activity similar to the one described on pp. 128-129.

* Applying the Concept to Media Sources

Students could collect newspaper and magazine articles to illustrate the various instruments for dealing with international conflict that have been taught. These could be arranged on a bulletin board under the headings of the various instruments.

This can also be turned into a team game. The teacher selects the articles, headlines, and pictures from the newspaper. These are reproduced and put into an envelope. The students are divided into teams and each team receives the same package of items. Their task is to classify accurately each item under the category of instrument for dealing with international conflict that it best illustrates. A time element can also be added.

* Make a Product: Mobile/Diagram/Collage/Model

Students select the type of product they wish to make. They could use it to do one of the following:

- a) Express their views of how international conflict is or ought to be dealt with.
- b) Provide different ways of seeing the same conflict from the perspectives of the various actors involved and the student as well.

- c) Demonstrate a way in which international conflicts of varying types could be dealt with in the future.

The results should be shared with the rest of the class.

* The United Nations Security Council: Using Jigsaw II to Explore a Hypothetical International Conflict

1. Use Appendix #A2. This simulation can be used to teach, apply or to extend a variety of concepts. In this case, it can be used to apply the concept taught regarding the use of various instruments for dealing with international conflict. The teacher should develop some crisis that will affect all the countries in the imaginary world in some way. (This is a Jigsaw II strategy. For further details on this approach, see Appendix #D1.)
 - i) Put the students into groups of five. Assign a different country in the imaginary world to each person in the group.
 - ii) Explain that each group is the United Nations Security Council, charged with the responsibility of dealing with the crisis.
 - iii) Direct the students representing each specific country to get together to formulate their country's reaction, and to plan for the crisis (i.e. all members of Country A will meet privately for a period of time, as will all members of Country B, etc.)
 - iv) Once each country has formulated its position, the members split and return to their original Security Council groups. Here they spend time explaining their country's position to their colleagues on the Security Council. They then attempt to reach an agreed approach a settlement. Members can return to their "countries" to consult on the Security Council discussions as they evolve.
2. The above segment of the strategy should be followed by a class debriefing:
 - i) How did your positions compare with those taken by your colleagues from other countries on the Security Council?
 - ii) How would you account for the similarities and differences?
 - iii) Were you successful in resolving the crisis? How so and why?
 - iv) To what degree did the fact that you were forced to discuss the problem with each other make a difference? What do you think would have happened if there had been no international body such as the Security Council?
 - v) How similar to the real world is this simulation? How unlike the real world is this simulation? Why?

3. For the teacher who wants to add a further note of realism to this strategy, a President or Prime Minister can be appointed for each country. The Security Council representatives for each country would advise their President/Prime Minister, develop a position for their country in consultation with him/her, and receive their marching orders from him/her.

* Case Studies

Appendix #C3 presents a series of case studies illustrating a variety of instruments for dealing with international conflict. Students could analyze these using Appendix #C4. A class discussion would follow in which the instruments were identified and evaluated for their appropriateness under the circumstances.

This could be linked to a Jigsaw II activity (see Appendix #D1) in which students in each Home Group take the role of various actors in the dispute. As Experts, all those students assigned a specific role would jointly develop a position. Once back in the Home Groups, each expert would try to sell his or her point of view. The task of the Home Group is to try to apply the best instruments for resolving the conflict. Each Home Group would then present its solution to the class for analysis and evaluation.

TOPIC:

Extending Knowledge of the Concept of International Conflict

CONCEPT(S):

International Conflict

ACTIVITY TYPE:

Extension

OBJECTIVES:

1. Students will organize and synthesize their learning about the concept of international conflict in a personal, meaningful way.

RESOURCES:

- * Appendix #C9: Tips on writing letters to foreign embassies.
- * Appendix #C10: Map of Global Hot Spots.
- * Appendix #D11: Researching a Project on a Peace and Security Topic: Getting Started!

STRATEGY:

- * Write Treaties

Have students research the causes of a current or past international conflict. They could then take the role of the actors in this conflict and try to end the conflict through some sort of written agreement. This can be a particularly effective strategy if a number of groups do the same project. This will result in a number of different treaties. These can be compared to see the different ways that the conflict was handled, and this can lead to an informed discussion as to the future potential for an end to the particular international conflicts under study.

- * Interview the Leaders

Have students research a current or past international conflict and focus on the actions and views of the key leaders involved. A number of students could then be assigned to play the role of these leaders. These "leaders":

- a) could be interviewed individually by students acting as reporters;
- b) could be brought together in a "meet the press" format with a panel of other students asking them questions; or,

- c) could be permitted to debate the conflict openly. If this strategy is used, the remaining students in the class are to listen to the debate and ask clarifying questions or make evaluative comments on the statements made by the various leaders.

* Make a Resource Package

Prepare a file of materials for the school library on a recent international conflict. This file could be used by future history or politics classes as a source document for their research. The file should include:

- a) significant newspaper and magazine articles, audio tapes of television/radio reports, and pictures;
- b) a chronology of events; and,
- c) an analysis of the conflict based on knowledge related to the sources of international conflict and instruments for dealing with it.

* A Letter Writing Project

Have students select a current international conflict. Either in groups or individually, they could be instructed to write letters to the various embassies of the countries involved in the conflict to ask for their views on the origins, nature and possible outcomes of the conflict under study. Replies could be shared with the rest of the class. The structure of these letters should be carefully planned in advance in conjunction with the teacher (see Appendix #C9 for tips on letter writing).

* A Mock United Nations

This activity will require a great deal of preparation the first time it is used. However, the long-term benefits are well worth the effort. The teacher should get a committee of students to help.

- a) Identify current events that the UN is dealing with. A short background paper or other resources (pictures, maps, charts) will have to be prepared and reproduced so that each of the delegations will have copies.
- b) The teacher will have to decide the process by which matters will be discussed and decisions made. As much as possible, try to mirror the way the UN actually makes its decisions. It is suggested that the activity simulate a meeting of the Security Council's fifteen (15) members (since this is a relatively manageable number of delegations).
- c) Choose groups of students to play the roles of the various delegations. Try to get a balance of student personalities in each of the delegations. Each of these groups will require a kit which explains the conflict from the point of view of their individual country.

This simulation works best when it is played by several classes in a one-day period. If possible, consider arranging a multi-day conference involving several schools. Students can be required to prepare position papers for each of the topics which will be discussed by the Security Council. They could also be expected to submit a summary paper in which they not only report the outcomes of the session, but also their personal reflections on the simulation, the UN and world conflicts in general.

* Global Hot Spots Research Project

Appendix #C10 provides a visual overview of some major global hot spots since 1945. Students could choose to research one of the conflicts indicated on the map or choose a more recent one. The analysis form presented in Appendix #C4 could be used as a research guide. They could be encouraged to write the embassies of the countries involved to get each actor's perspective on the conflict (see Appendix #C9 for tips on writing letters to embassies.) They should produce maps illustrating the location, actors and/or elements of the conflict. The final form of the project could be a bulletin board display, and oral presentation, a video report in newscast form, or a formal written report.

If the class is examining an on-going conflict, it can be exciting to link this research strategy to an adaption of the Jigsaw II strategy--United Nations Security Council. (see "Using Jigsaw II to explore a Hypothetical International Conflict," p. 285.)

* A Research Study using Jigsaw II

Using Jigsaw II (see Appendix #D1 for a detailed explanation), have students research a recent international conflict involving multiple actors. The teacher might elect to use a current conflict or refer to Appendix #C3 for an appropriate case.

Put students into Home Groups. Assign each group member the role of one of the actors in the conflict. Have students representing the same actors form Expert Groups. Students research the conflict from the perspectives of the various actors. They should make use of the Canadian Periodical Index to find necessary information. If they are not familiar with the index, this is a good opportunity to have the librarian teach its use. (Students could also consult Appendix #D11 "Researching a Project on a Peace and Security Topic: Getting Started!") Based on their research, each Expert Group must decide, from their perspective:

- i) what was/is the cause of the conflict?;
- ii) what were/are the major stumbling blocks to a settlement; and,
- iii) what must be done to overcome these stumbling blocks?

Upon completion of their research, students would go to their Home Groups where one student (representing a third party such as the UN) chairs a discussion. The task of the Home Group is to produce a written agreement to end the conflict, if this is possible. If a negotiated settlement cannot be reached, the group should produce a joint communique which clearly outlines areas of agreement and disagreement. These treaties or communiques could be presented to the class and the different ways the conflict was dealt with could be compared.

APPENDIX C1 ISSUES WHICH MAY LEAD TO CONFLICT

There are many reasons why states may come into conflict with each other. The following is a list of examples of such things. Is there anything you would add to or remove from this list?

- 1) Shared borders means that pollution produced in one state is sometimes carried into another.
- 2) Peoples of different and conflicting religions live door-to-door in neighbouring states.
- 3) Unsettled border disputes can lead to long-term tension.
- 4) Concerns about the flow of imported goods will occasionally lead states to impose tariffs to reduce the flow. This can lead to economic retaliation by the state which has had its exports cut back by such an action.
- 5) An excessive military build-up by a neighbouring state is often a cause for alarm and tension.
- 6) A natural resource which straddles the border of different states can lead to conflict over how that resource is exploited.
- 7) Some states harbour terrorists. This can lead to a conflict with a state that has been victimized by terrorism.
- 8) Although states set fishing quotas for waters within the 200-mile zone off their coasts, it is often difficult to prevent foreign fishing trawlers from exceeding these quotas, or fishing illegally..
- 9) Some governments have policies designed to control the amount of foreign investment in their economies. This can lead to conflict with the government of states whose investors are negatively affected by such policies.
- 10) In order to eliminate a government which is troublesome, states will sometimes support rebels which are fighting against such a government.

APPENDIX C2

SOURCES OF INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT

States may come into conflict with each other for many different reasons. It is often difficult to determine exactly what is the source of a particular dispute or conflict. In fact, it is often disagreement on a number of issues which combine and lead to conflict. The issues that states argue about can be broadly categorized as ideas or resources. The following is a list of some of the things that may lead to international conflict.

IDEAS

Ideas can often be the source of conflict between states. States enter into conflicts over ideas because they feel threatened by the ideas held by another country or group of countries. The existence of opposing ideas, especially when these ideas are believed to be important or fundamental to a state, may produce tension, and may even lead to war. Ideas can be expressed in many ways, such as by religion, economic systems, and political systems.

Religion: A religion is a system of faith and worship which guides people by providing standards of conduct which apply to their lives. Conflicts over religion occur because people are sometimes unable to tolerate the different behaviour and beliefs of other religious groups. It is also the case that one religion can sometimes prescribe behaviour and activities which are contradictory to another, increasing the likelihood of conflict.

Economic System: An economic system is the means by which goods and services are produced, traded and distributed. Economic systems today are often referred to as being either "capitalist", "socialist", or "command economy" (or "communist").

In a capitalist system, the economy is dominated by individuals and firms which conduct their business with only a relatively modest amount of interference from the government. In a command economy, or communist system, the government runs almost the entire economy and decides what goods should be produced, and where, and for what price they will be sold. A socialist economy is a mix of both private and public (or government) enterprise.

The people in these systems often disagree over which is the best way to manage a state's economy. In addition, ideas about how an economy should be run often closely reflect ideas about what type of political system is the best. As a result, conflicts about economics are often part of broader political conflicts. In addition, since economics is about wealth and the distribution of wealth, conflict can erupt from the competition for that wealth.

Political System: A country's political system can be broadly described as the relationship of the citizens to the government; by what authority does a government rule, what are its powers, what are the rights of the citizens, who decides, who does the government listen to? States may have disputes over differences in their political systems because their citizens have strongly held beliefs about the value of their own system. In addition, leaders often believe their system is the best and should be spread to other states. If they actively seek to spread their political ideas to other states, this can lead to conflict.

RESOURCES

A resource is an asset that a state has at its disposal or can draw upon. Material resources can be the cause of conflict, just as ideas can. Some of the resources that states may have disputes over are territory, raw materials, markets, and trade routes. States may challenge each other over these resources because they think they are essential to their welfare. They may also believe the resources will help them become more wealthy or powerful.

Territory: Wars over territory may be attempts to regain areas lost in previous wars, or attempts to expand into valuable territory belonging to another country. This expansion may be for the purpose of gaining access to a particular resource, or to create a buffer zone between a state and its enemy. Territory is important to countries, because it has traditionally been a measure of power.

Raw Materials/Markets: Throughout history, states have clashed over access to raw materials considered valuable in their time. In the past, some of the countries of Europe competed and came into conflict over the quest for such commodities as pepper and tea. States have also had conflicts over access to markets to which they could sell their goods.

Today, raw materials continue to hold the potential for conflict. Probably the most important is crude oil. Because much of modern industry depends on oil, the states of the Western industrialized world have a great interest in continued access to oil supplies. This concern led former US President Carter to describe the Persian Gulf as an area of key importance to American security. Because much of the world's oil is produced in this area and passes through these waters, President Carter pledged to use force if necessary to keep the oil flowing.

Trade Routes: Trade routes are essential to the economies of states which depend heavily on international trade. In colonial times, trade routes were essential for the colonial powers of Europe. Raw materials were brought to Europe, used to produce processed goods, and these goods were then shipped back to colonial markets. The control of trade routes, markets and commodities led to the creation of empires.

APPENDIX C3 FALKLAND ISLANDS CONFLICT

The Falkland Islands are in the South Atlantic Ocean, east of the southern coast of Argentina. When Argentina declared its independence from Spain in 1820, it claimed the islands (known as Islas Malvinas to the Spanish) from its former rulers. In 1833, the British (who had quarrelled with Spain over the Falklands for many years) occupied the islands and evicted the Argentines. Since that time, the majority of the inhabitants of the Falklands have been British, or of British descent.

For the following 150 years, Argentina sought to regain control of the islands. The Argentines consider the Falklands to be a natural extension of Argentine territory and rightfully subject to their control. Britain resisted Argentina's demands and sided with the citizens of the Falkland Islands, who preferred to be British rather than Argentine citizens.

In 1966, Britain and Argentina began face-to-face discussions over the fate of the islands. In April 1982, after another round of negotiations failed, Argentina invaded the Falklands and established control. Three days later, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher sent a naval force to the South Atlantic to recapture the islands.

Argentina said their invasion was just because the Falklands belonged to it and were being occupied by a far-off European power. Britain replied that Argentina had no right to force itself on the citizens of the Falklands who had been British citizens for 150 years and did not want to be Argentines.

Between the time when British naval forces were dispatched in April, to their landing in the Falklands on May 21, there were several efforts to head-off the conflict. US Secretary of State Alexander Haig moved back and forth between London and Buenos Aires in search of a settlement. He hoped to convince the Argentine government that their choice was between the US-sponsored settlement, or war with Britain. The Argentines, however, were not convinced that Britain would indeed go to war.

After a three-week attempt, the US gave up its efforts and sided with Britain as British forces moved in on the Falklands. Peru picked up the US effort and developed its own peace plan. This plan collapsed, however, after the British sank the Argentine navy cruiser General Belgrano on May 2.

The UN Secretary General also sought to head-off the conflict. The day after the British announced these UN discussions had failed, British troops landed in the Falklands. On June 14, the Argentines surrendered and the war was over.

Today, Britain and Argentina continue to disagree over who is sovereign over the Falklands. Meanwhile, Britain has made defensive improvements which will make the islands easier to defend in any future conflict.

APPENDIX C3 THE WAR IN AFGHANISTAN

On December 24, 1979, the Soviet Union sent troops into Afghanistan, a country which borders on three Soviet republics. The invasion followed a coup which was engineered by the Soviets. The coup removed the government of Hafizolla Amin and replaced it with that of Babrak Karmal. The Amin government had become unpopular with its people and was suffering internal difficulties. The Afghan government was friendly to the Soviet Union, and the Soviets did not want to see it collapse.

The invasion raised great concerns around the world. It was the first time since the Second World War that the Soviet Union had used its military forces to invade a country outside its sphere of influence in Eastern Europe. After the invasion, Afghan resistance groups called "mujhahideen" formed to fight the Soviets.

The Soviets fought in Afghanistan for over eight years. The costs of the war have been high on all sides. Western estimates claim that the Soviets lost between 10,000 and 35,000 men during the war. In addition, the financial costs were a burden, and the Soviet Union lost a great deal of prestige and respect. Afghanistan, which before 1979 had a population of approximately 15.5 million, suffered over one million deaths during the war, with over five million Afghans, many from rural areas, fleeing their homeland. About three million of these refugees went to Pakistan.

Mikhail Gorbachev, the leader of the Soviet Union described this war as a "bleeding wound". On February 8, 1988, Gorbachev announced that the Soviet Union would be ready to begin withdrawing its troops from Afghanistan on May 15, 1988. It would do so if an agreement could be reached in Geneva by March 15. The United Nations had mediated talks in Geneva between Pakistan and Afghanistan since 1982.

Even though the March 15 deadline was not met, the Soviets stated that they would unilaterally withdraw their troops with or without a signed agreement. The greatest problem blocking an agreement was the US insistence that the Soviet Union not only pull out its forces, but cut off military aid to the Afghan army altogether. The US would then cut off its military assistance to the mujhahideen.

On April 14, 1988, an agreement to withdraw Soviet troops was signed; the impasse had been broken. The terms of the agreement included: 1) the voluntary return of refugees, and 2) an agreement between Pakistan and Afghanistan to cease all interference in each others affairs. The accord was signed by Afghanistan and Pakistan, and guaranteed by the Soviet Union and the United States. To break the impasse both the US and the USSR agreed to continue to send military aid to their respective clients. At the same time the Soviets made a commitment to withdraw their troops over a period of nine months beginning on May 15, 1988.

There were 50 United Nations observers -- including 5 Canadians -- in Afghanistan for the start of the Soviet withdrawal. The UN peacekeepers were in Afghanistan despite the fact that all seven major factions of the mujhahideen rejected the UN-sponsored agreement between Pakistan and Afghanistan.

The mujhahideen rejected the peace accord, and announced that they would continue their struggle until the last Soviet soldier left and the Afghan government fell. Nonetheless, the Soviet withdrawal was completed on February 15, 1989, on schedule.

The withdrawal, however, did not go without incident. Throughout the withdrawal period, both the Afghan and Soviet governments repeatedly charged that Pakistan was violating the accord by allowing shipments of US-made armaments to move across its territory to the mujhahideen rebels. At one point in November 1988, the Soviet Union even temporarily suspended the withdrawal.

Early predictions that the Afghan communist regime would collapse within weeks of the Soviet withdrawal turned out to be wrong. The mujhahideen have not proven to be as militarily capable as predicted. Neither have they been able to put forth a well thought-out and widely accepted political plan of action for the country. The groups which make up the mujhahideen attempted to form a temporary government until elections could be held, but they could not agree on its membership. Internal hostility within the mujhahideen has resulted in armed fighting between factions.

On July 31, 1989 high ranking US and Soviet delegations met for the first time in 15 months to search for a peaceful solution to the conflict in Afghanistan. These were preliminary discussions. To date, both sides have continued to supply arms to their clients in the conflict. It is widely believed, however, that if the superpowers could work out an agreement to stop supplying arms, the fighting would soon stop. Once the fighting is halted, both the mujhahideen and the communist government might be able to settle their dispute through negotiation.

APPENDIX C3 CANADA-FRANCE FISHING DISPUTE

In 1977, Canada proclaimed a 200-mile (320 km) fishing zone off the coast of Newfoundland. France also declared such a zone for its islands of St-Pierre and Miquelon off Newfoundland's south coast in the Gulf of the St. Lawrence. Because the two zones overlap, a dispute developed over fishing rights.

The dispute arose initially over Canadian charges that French vessels were overfishing in a disputed area of waters roughly the size of Nova Scotia, and that overfishing could destroy fish stocks. Both the fishermen of Newfoundland, and St-Pierre and Miquelon fear that their livelihoods will be destroyed by fishing vessels from metropolitan France.

Canada argues that only a 12-mile (19 km) economic zone should apply to the French islands. France, on the other hand, continues to insist on a 200-mile zone. In order to resolve their differences, the parties signed, on January 24, 1987, an agreement to enter negotiations in the new year. They agreed to submit the dispute over the limits of the maritime boundary to an international tribunal. They also agreed to negotiate temporary fisheries arrangements for the period 1988-91.

The negotiations did not prove fruitful, and France continued to exceed the quotas set by Canada for fish in the disputed fishing zone. In 1987, Canada responded by closing Canadian ports to French fishermen. The negotiations between the two countries were "on again-off again" for more than a year after the closing of the Canadian ports.

In April of 1988, a French fishing trawler carrying 17 French fishermen and 4 politicians from the islands of St-Pierre and Miquelon purposely fished illegally in Canadian waters. The 21 people on board were arrested by Canadian officials. An angry French government recalled their ambassador for consultation. On April 28, however, it was announced that negotiations would begin again. This time both countries agreed to non-binding mediation (the use of a third party to help make a fair decision) to help settle the dispute.

Before the non-binding mediation got under way, however, the dispute erupted yet again. On May 6 1988, a French naval tug seized a Canadian fishing trawler in disputed waters because the trawler lacked a French fishing permit. It was towed to St-Pierre and its crew of five detained until the Canadian Government posted a \$32,000 bond for their release.

Talks did not resume until June 7 and did not go well. In mid-September France broke off the talks as the two sides reached an impasse. Canada had always held that the final resolution of the boundary dispute was more important than the negotiation of mutually acceptable fish quotas. France, on the other hand, believed it was to its advantage to secure fish quotas before proceeding to international arbitration.

Canada argued that France's quota demands were too high and was waiting for an environmental impact study conducted by the North Atlantic Fisheries Organization (NAFO). Canadian officials expected that the study would support their claim that fishing in the area must be reduced to save the dwindling cod stock.

Canada later agreed to non-binding mediation on fish quotas, allowing the talks to resume. A mediator, Enrique Iglesias of Uruguay, was chosen by both countries. Beginning November 2, 1988, Mr. Iglesias was given 90 days to help the two countries agree on fish quotas, and to help establish the terms for which an international tribunal will settle the maritime boundary dispute.

Amidst many more disagreements and compromises, Canada and France agreed to extend Mr. Iglesias' deadline. At the end of March 1989, a breakthrough in negotiations resulted in the signing, by both countries, of an agreement which called for a special 5-member international tribunal to decide who owns the disputed waters. This submission of the dispute to international arbitration was Canada's goal.

Many in Canada believe that the price that was paid for this settlement with France was too high. Specifically, the agreement allows France to increase its catch, from 16,000 tonnes the previous year, to 27,000 tonnes. Conservationists and Newfoundland fishermen are worried about the long-term effect this increased catch will have on the stock.

Others believe that Canada's agreement with France is, in the long-term, the best option for the Canadian fisheries. They argue that the eventual boundary settlement will likely favour Canada's position. Furthermore, it is claimed that France already over-fishes, by two or three times, the original quota set by Canada. If this is true, the quota of 27,000 tonnes may not result in any real increase in the French catch.

APPENDIX C3 WAR IN THE WESTERN SAHARA

Since the early 1970's, a relatively unnoticed war has taken place in the Western Sahara, on the northwest coast of Africa. This war began as a war of independence from Spain which occupied the Spanish Sahara (as it was then known) until 1975. It has since become a long, drawn-out stalemate between the Polisario (the guerilla group which seeks to establish itself as the government of the country) and Morocco which seeks to make the Western Sahara part of its own territory.

Until 1975, Spain administered the Western Sahara. Spain's control over the territory was criticized by neighbouring states in the region, especially Morocco to the north, Algeria to the east, and Mauritania to the south. They, and others, called for a referendum to allow the inhabitants of the Western Sahara to decide their future for themselves. Attacks from the Polisario and Morocco's threat to march 350,000 civilians into the territory, convinced Spain to strike a deal. They agreed to turn over the northern 2/3 of the territory to Morocco and the southern 1/3 to Mauritania, and withdraw completely. The inhabitants of the Western Sahara were not part of this decision.

With Spain gone from the Western Sahara, the territory became subject to regional tensions and rivalries. Algeria and Morocco had long jockeyed for power in the region and fought a brief border war in 1963. After the withdrawal of Spain, Algeria grew concerned about Moroccan control over the Western Sahara. Algeria acted on this concern by supporting the efforts of the Polisario to drive the Moroccans and Mauritians from the Western Sahara. It has done this by providing arms, training, and allowing the Polisario to operate from bases in Algeria.

Initially, the Polisario concentrated its efforts against Mauritania. By 1978, the Polisario had made the conflict so expensive for Mauritania that Mauritania gave up control over its portion of the Western Sahara. This was only a partial victory for the Polisario, however, as Morocco proceeded to take over the entire territory.

In 1980, Morocco began a strategy which has led to a military stalemate with the Polisario. It began to build a sand wall, fortified with mines and barbed wire around the populated areas of the Western Sahara. Over the years, this wall has grown to extend over an estimated 2500 km, enclosing most of the Western Sahara. At the same time, Morocco has spent \$2 billion on aid in the area within the wall, which has helped them to earn favour with the population. With few exceptions, the Polisario has been unable to penetrate the wall, but neither has Morocco been able to militarily defeat the Polisario.

After Spain's withdrawal, the Polisario proclaimed itself to be the new government of the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR). This government-in-exile has been recognized by over 70 states, while no one has recognized Morocco's claim of sovereignty over the Western Sahara. Recently there has been some movement towards bridging the positions of the Polisario and Morocco.

In 1987, representatives from the United Nations (UN) and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) sent representatives to the region to search for a political solution. In the summer of 1988, UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar held discussions in Geneva with the parties to the conflict. Equally important, in May 1988, Morocco and Algeria resumed diplomatic relations. Relations were broken in 1976 when Algeria recognized the Polisario government-in-exile. It is thought that due to stagnating economies and mounting foreign debts, both Algeria and Morocco have decided to make an attempt to end the war.

In August 1988, it was announced that Morocco and Polisario had reached an agreement in principle to end the war. The agreement was based on proposals put forward by the UN and OAU. The plan calls for a cease-fire and a referendum on self-determination for the Western Sahara. The UN would supervise both. The agreement came after consultations with the UN Secretary General as the Moroccans refused to meet directly with the Polisario.

Since the August agreement, the UN Security Council has appointed a Special Representative for the Western Sahara to work out the details of the agreement. In addition, in early 1989, King Hassan of Morocco and representatives of the Polisario met for the first time for face-to-face discussions. It was hoped that this meeting would lead to a second meeting, but this did not take place. In October 1989, the Polisario renewed its attack on Morocco's sand wall.

APPENDIX C3

THE SOVIET-JAPANESE TERRITORIAL DISPUTE

Off the east coast of the Soviet mainland and north of Japan lie a number of islands collectively known as the Kurile Islands, or the "Northern Territories" to Japan. These islands are presently occupied by the Soviet Union but are claimed by Japan as well.

In 1945, when the Second World War was nearing an end, the allied leaders, Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin, met at Yalta for a conference. They agreed that the Soviet Union would declare war on Japan to help force its surrender. Upon Japan's defeat, the Soviet Union was to resume its control of the area known as southern Sakhalin, and assume rights over the four southern Kurile islands.

At the end of the war, Japan and the Soviet Union were set to sign a peace treaty marking the end of hostilities. However, post-war events led to mistrust between the US and the USSR. As the Cold War 'heated up', Japan's developing relations with the US favoured Japanese-American ties at the expense of Japanese-Soviet ties. The Soviet Union refused to sign the final draft of the Japanese-Soviet peace treaty which, as demanded by the US, excluded the provision which recognized the USSR's right to the Kurile Islands.

In 1951, Japan signed the San Francisco Peace Treaty which stated that Japan renounced its claim to the islands. However, the Soviet Union was not a party to the San Francisco Conference. Japan and the Soviet Union have yet to sign a bilateral peace treaty. This means a formal state of war still exists between the two.

In 1956, the Soviet Union and Japan signed a Joint Declaration on relations between the two states. The Declaration called for the return of the two smallest of the Kurile Islands to Japan, once a bilateral peace treaty was signed. However, a peace treaty never was signed, and Japan's signing of a security treaty with the US in 1960 caused Japanese-Soviet relations to worsen. The Soviet Union withdrew its offer to give up the two smallest islands.

In 1978, the USSR proposed a draft treaty on "Goodneighbourliness and Cooperation". They believed that mutually beneficial relations (apart from the island question) were possible despite the lack of a bilateral peace treaty. Japan rejected this proposal, fearing that any cooperative agreement would strengthen the status quo, undermining their claim to the Kurile Islands.

Japan is concerned that the Soviet Union has yet to officially acknowledge that the Kurile Islands issue is a dispute between the two. The Soviet view is that their possession of the islands has been legally established since Yalta. The Soviets refer to Japan's rejection of the boundaries set by the Yalta Conference as the "border issue". Japan, on the other hand, calling the issue a "territorial dispute", claims that the very sovereignty of the islands is subject to negotiation.

In December of 1988, Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze visited Japan. In talks with Japanese Foreign Minister Uno, the Soviet Union agreed to set up a permanent working group with Japan to promote continuous negotiations on a peace treaty. Political observers noted that the talks signified virtual, although not official, Soviet acknowledgement of the existence of the territorial dispute. In addition, there has been increased mention in the Soviet press, and by Soviet scholars, of the existence of the "territorial problem" with Japan.

The Soviet Union's reluctance to give up the Kurile Islands is partly due to their strategic location. The islands act as a natural enclosure for the Soviet Union's nuclear submarine fleet in the sea of Okhotsk. If Japan were to assume control of the islands, American and Japanese submarines would have access to this very same sea. The Soviets, therefore, seek a compromise with Japan which does not breach their own strategic interests. Some options which might prove successful are: acknowledgement of Japan's "residual sovereignty" over the islands while maintaining Soviet occupation or some control; establishment of a joint administration; or the return of the islands to Japan with the agreement that they will be demilitarized.

For any of these solutions to work, Japan must be convinced of the need and advantage of a compromise solution. The Soviet Union's interest in a compromise solution is becoming increasingly apparent. In light of current and ongoing economic restructuring planned in the Soviet Union, Japanese credits and investment is strongly desired. The Japanese are more likely to increase economic relations if the island dispute is resolved.

APPENDIX C4

FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYZING INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT

The following chart is a framework for analyzing international conflict. The answers to the questions it asks suggests factors which will affect whether or not a settlement can be reached, and how effective such a settlement might be.

If this framework is used, students could be asked the following questions:

- a) Is this a useful way for you to think about the challenge of resolving international conflict situations?
- b) Do you have other questions of your own which you would add to the chart you worked on?
- c) Did this exercise suggest any differences between resolving conflict between people and conflict between countries?

APPENDIX C4
FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYZING INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT

PARTIES

		A	B
STATE OF THE CONFLICT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What is the source of the conflict? Is it obvious or hidden? - What is the position of the parties to the conflict? What are the interests which are the basis of these positions? 		
PROCESS OF DEALING WITH THE CONFLICT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What means are chosen to deal with the conflict? What instruments are chosen? - Will the instruments used allow both parties to gain something or will one lose and the other win? 		
OUTCOME	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What is the outcome? - Have the interests of both parties been satisfied? - How long will the settlement last? 		

APPENDIX C5
WHAT WOULD YOU DO?: An Introduction to Instruments
for Dealing with International Conflict

Case 1

Two large manufacturing companies are traditional rivals. Each produces a large number of similar products and competes for customers in the same areas. One of the companies got an early start in a new foreign market and is doing well. The other company has now decided to move into this market as well with a new line of products that are strikingly similar to those of its competitor. If you were the President of each company, what would you do? Would you:

- a) Declare a price war. You will try to undercut your competitor until one of you backs off. Hopefully, they will back down before you go bankrupt.
- b) Avoid this new issue. You will simply compete with each other as you have done all along.
- c) Go to the courts to sue your competitor for stealing your product line. If you win, you may be able to prevent your competitor from selling this product line elsewhere.
- d) Appoint a person you both trust to help you reach an agreement over sales of products in this new area.
- e) Decide to withdraw from this new competition. You will leave the market to your competitor this time.
- f) Sign an agreement with your competitor to consult with each other in future on all new product lines and plans for opening new markets.

Case 2

Someone you know sells you a car. This person informs you that it is in top condition and that it has been well maintained. Within a week, the engine seizes up and the car grinds to a halt. The mechanic at the local garage tells you that the car is actually in terrible condition. You call the person and explain that you want to return the car for a full refund. This person refuses. Would you:

- a) Take this person to court to try to reclaim your money.
- b) Go to this person's house one night and secretly pour sugar into the gas tank of his/her car. This will ruin the car engine.

- c) Meet with this person to discuss alternatives. This might lead to an agreement that is mutually beneficial.
- d) Accept that you have lost your money. You will be more wary next time.
- e) Invite a mutual friend who is willing to act as a go-between. Perhaps s/he can help you both reach an agreement.

APPENDIX C6

INSTRUMENTS FOR DEALING WITH INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT

The question of war and peace has always been one of the fundamental questions of human study. Many different aspects of this question have been considered: is war the result of misunderstanding?--if we understood each other better, would there be less conflict? are humans naturally aggressive making war unavoidable? does the organization of people into states lead to war? While scientists and scholars attempt to answer these questions and more, states have developed means of dealing with international conflict when it occurs. In addition, suggestions have been made, and some put to use, which seek to reduce the likelihood of conflict in the first place.

The following is a list of some of the instruments states can use to deal with international conflict:

- 1) **Accommodation:** A state might deal with a conflict between itself and another state by simply giving up its objectives and accepting the demands of the other.
- 2) **Arms Control:** Arms control refers to measures meant to control, limit or reduce the number of weapons. Those who support arms control argue that, for the near future, states will continue to rely on weapons to ensure their security. Weapons reflect states' suspicions, distrust and negative historical experiences with each other. These problems will not disappear overnight, but arms control measures can be adopted which will prevent a totally unrestricted arms race which is in nobody's interest.
- 3) **Civilian-Based Defence:** Today, many states provide for their defence by maintaining professional armies, armed with the latest weapons. It is argued that such a defence system increases the chances for conflict. There are two reasons for this. The armed forces of the superpowers, and other major powers, have grown so large and their weapons so destructive, that their very existence creates tension and uncertainty. Secondly, modern armed forces, combined with military alliances, means that conflict can quickly spread to involve many states. A system which would avoid these dangers is civilian-based defence.

The idea of civilian-based defence is based on the fact that when one state attacks and invades another, it is often for the purpose of controlling or influencing the other state. Control and influence can only be successful if enough citizens cooperate with the invader. Civilian-based defence would train the population in non-violent techniques which would make it difficult, if not impossible for the invader to take control.

Such a defence system would not physically protect a state's borders from invasion, but since an invader would be met by total non-cooperation from the population, it might be enough to deter aggression in the first place. In addition, a state using civilian-based defence would be a threat to no one, and therefore would not provoke an attack. Civilian-based defence could be carried out by states on their own and would mean they could withdraw from alliances and end any association with nuclear weapons.

- 4) **Confidence-and Security-Building Measures (CSBMs):** Confidence-and security-building measures (CSBMs) are practical measures taken to reduce the risk of military confrontation. CSBMs were established by the Stockholm Conference which was attended by the members of NATO, the Warsaw Pact and the neutral and non-aligned states of Europe. In a treaty which came into effect 1 January 1987, the 35 nations attending the conference agreed to a set of measures to increase confidence and security in Europe.

The idea behind the establishment of CSBMs is to increase openness between states about their military affairs. For example, at Stockholm, the participants agreed to notify each other of their major military activities and exercises at least 42 days before they are to begin. If states open their military activities to outside observation, military actions become predictable. By sharing their respective agendas for military action, states learn to trust that their neighbours' military manoeuvres are non-threatening. If states are confident in the peaceful intention of their neighbours' actions, they will feel more secure and will be less likely to resort to military threats or force.

- 5) **Disarmament:** Disarmament is the reduction and elimination of arms. This can be done by states on their own, or through negotiations with other states. Those who seek disarmament see weapons themselves as a principal cause of conflict. Weapons create tension and fear, and make it easier to solve disputes using violence. It is best to simply reduce and eliminate them.

It is usually suggested that disarmament be carried out through the United Nations. In fact, "general and complete disarmament under effective international control" has been an objective of the United Nations for over 30 years.

- 6) **Legal Instruments:** There are international organizations in the world which are meant to regulate activities and hear complaints when conflicts occur. For instance, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) sets out rules which are meant to improve and increase world trade, and make sure states trade fairly. Should a conflict develop over trade, a state which participates in the GATT can make a complaint to the GATT which will rule on the case. The GATT decision is usually accepted by the parties involved or a settlement is negotiated by the parties to the dispute.

Another legal instrument is the International Court of Justice in The Hague, Netherlands. The International Court, or World Court, will rule on cases brought to it by states which have a dispute. Legally, states are then bound to accept the ruling of the court.

- 7) **Mediation:** When states are unable to deal with a conflict, but still seek a solution, they may turn to mediation. Mediation is a process in which a mediator or third party is brought in to consider the conflict and propose ways to settle the problem. A mediator does not force the parties to accept his/her ideas. Instead, s/he produces ideas and strategies which ideally will lead to a settlement.

- 8) **Negotiation:** Negotiation is a process in which parties seek to reach some form of common agreement. Negotiation is used when the parties to a conflict realize they cannot settle the issue on their own, but must work out a solution together. In international relations, negotiations are carried out by many officials under many circumstances. Negotiations, however, are most often associated with the high-level talks carried out by leaders of states and/or their representatives and diplomats.
- 9) **Non-Acknowledgement:** Rather than deal with a conflict, a state may deliberately ignore it or not admit that there is any problem. Such an approach is most likely to be seen in cases where the parties to a conflict have unequal power. A powerful state may find it convenient and easy to ignore dealing with a conflict with a less powerful state, because there is little cost involved. This is becoming increasingly difficult, however, as in a more interdependent world, many problems have become interconnected and hard to separate. This means to fail to deal with a conflict or dispute now may make its solution more difficult in the future.
- 10) **Non-Offensive Defence:** Non-offensive defence attempts to deal with the problem of heavy concentrations of armed forces which can be used to launch an attack. This is particularly a problem in Europe.

It is argued that both NATO and the Warsaw Pact have tried to deter each other from attacking by building armed forces that could quickly go on the attack if conflict broke out. This emphasis on the offensive creates pressures for each side to match the improvements and growth in the other's forces, leading to an arms race. In addition, modern weapon systems are highly accurate and destructive, giving an advantage to the side that shoots first. The result is a much greater risk of conflict and escalation to nuclear war.

Non-offensive defence calls for a strategy which is defensive only and does not threaten. It would be based on professional armies with modern weapons. However, these armies would not depend on offensive weapons and would not base their planning on offensive strategies. The goal is to convince the other side with more than just words that one's armed forces are not meant for attack. Ideally, each side's defensive capability would be greater than its opponent's offensive capability. This would clearly indicate neither side is interested in aggression and would be a constructive step in reducing international tensions.

- 11) **Peacekeeping:** Peacekeeping is the use of military forces to supervise a cease-fire between warring parties. Peacekeepers usually come from small and middle-power states and they keep the peace by their presence, not by fighting. Force is used only in self-defence. Peacekeeping operations are often carried out under the authority of an international organization, usually the United Nations. It is hoped that once a cease-fire has been established, efforts will be made to find a more lasting solution.

- 12) **War:** The most violent means of dealing with international conflict is the use of war. War (and violence in general) seeks to impose a solution. It seeks to solve the problem by destroying one's opponent, or weakening him so greatly that they are no longer a threat.
- 13) **World Government:** The idea of world government is based on the view that war and international conflict is bound to occur as long as the international system is dominated by many independent states, often pursuing their own, selfish interests. It is therefore the organization of the international system that is mainly responsible for international conflict.

There have been many plans put forward for world government, but world federation is often suggested. In a world federation, states as we now know them would continue to exist. They would, however, give up some of their power to the world government which would govern over interests common to humanity. Over time, more and more power would be turned over to the world government until individual states would disappear. No longer would individual states be able to block common action and pursue their interests using violence.

Because these leaders mistrusted each other and assumed that others were plotting against them, tensions and disagreements which could have been avoided grew until the leaders felt pressed into declaring war.

Another aspect of the perception problem was that each leader believed his country was stronger than his enemy. This made it easier to declare war, since one is likely to expect victory when one believes themselves to be stronger than the opponent.

4. The Arms Race

Some people argue that World War I occurred because of the arms race that was taking place between Germany and Britain just prior to the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand. An arms race is a situation in which rival countries believe that to be safe from each other they have to have more weapons than the other. This leads to a competition in which both countries make more and more weapons in order to stay ahead of their rival. Because an arms race produces a state of tension and unease, a small incident can quickly develop into something much bigger. It is argued that this was the case in World War I.

5. Other Theories

There are many other theories about the cause of World War I. Some people blame the munitions makers in Europe for putting pressure on their governments to fight. This would bring the makers of munitions profits. Others argue that the newspapers of Europe inflamed public opinion and created such hostility towards perceived enemies that war was bound to be the result.

Whatever is the case, World War I illustrates the difficulty in pinning down the exact cause of war. It is likely to be the case that several causes all contribute to the outbreak of war.

APPENDIX C8

HOW EFFECTIVE IS PEACEKEEPING?

There have been more than one hundred wars since World War II. Even though the United Nations has actively promoted peace, it has been unable to secure peace for the world. Should the United Nations continue in its search for peace? Is it effective?

Some Arguments For and Against the UN's Role in Peacekeeping

YES, the UN should continue its search for peace because:

- * the charter of the UN promotes peace. It states a universal goal and has a moral force.
- * fewer lives have been lost because UN peacekeeping forces have helped separate opponents.
- * the great powers' veto in the UN can be bypassed by the General Assembly.
- * some UN actions, such as those in the Congo, have resulted in lasting settlements.
- * UN efforts have kept the great powers from going to war.
- * the presence of UN forces has prevented the spread of wars by discouraging other nations from becoming involved.

NO, the UN should not continue its search for peace because:

- * the UN has not prevented wars from occurring.
- * knowing that the UN will step into a dispute may make nations more willing to take chances.
- * the General Assembly can only request nations to assist. Further, General Assembly actions cause the UN financial problems.
- * most UN actions have not led to lasting settlements. The actions may even prolong disputes.
- * the only reason the great powers have not gone to war is because it is not in their self-interest.
- * lasting settlements occur only when disputing parties genuinely want them to be settled. The UN presence does not speed up this process.

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APPENDIX C9
TIPS ON WRITING LETTERS TO EMBASSIES

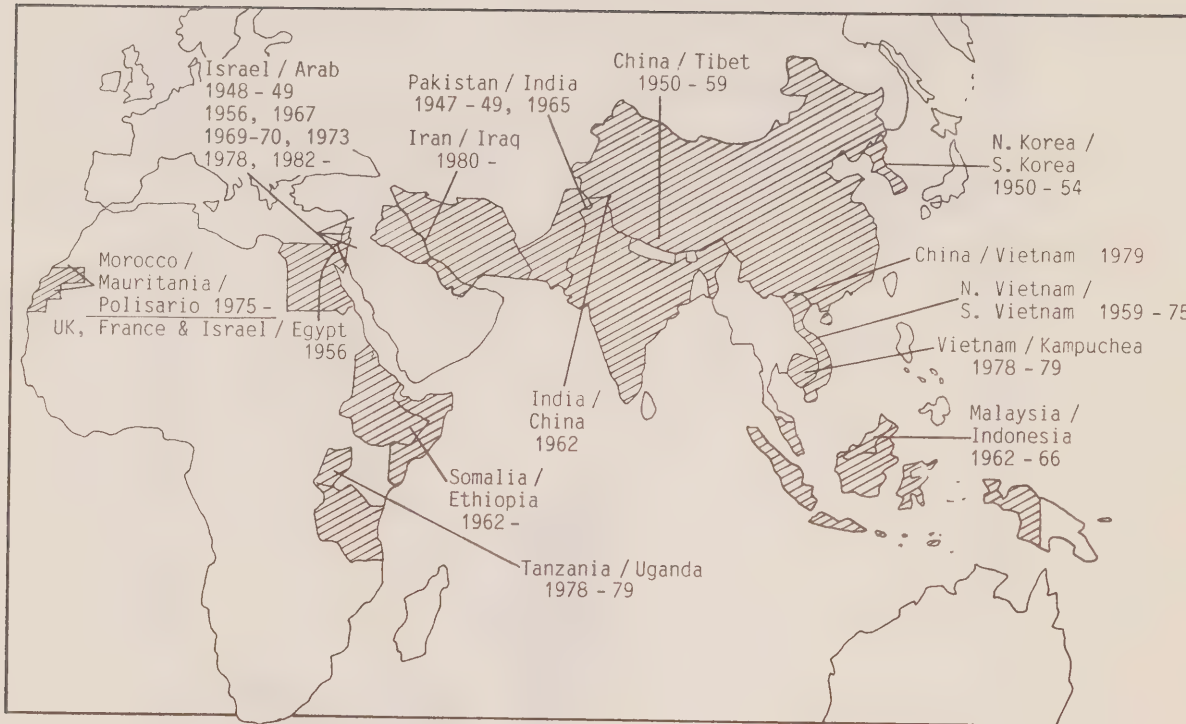
1. Although it may seem obvious, be certain that you have the correct address of the embassy. Also be sure to include your name and address in the letter itself. A typewritten letter is recommended.
2. If you are writing to the ambassador, the envelope should be addressed to "His Excellency/Her Excellency (name of the ambassador)".
3. In the letter itself, the salutation should be "Dear Mr./Madam Ambassador".
4. Try to express as clearly and precisely as possible what sort of information you are seeking. Vague questions are sure to result in vague answers.
5. Ask your questions in a polite fashion. Hostile letters are not likely to receive a favourable reply. But do not be afraid to ask tough and straightforward questions.
6. In your letter, explain that you are writing the embassy as part of a school project. You should also explain that you have to present your results by a particular date. This might help speed-up the embassy's response to your questions.
7. Because an embassy is meant to present its country's position in the best possible light, it would be useful to write to the embassies of the various countries involved in a conflict. In this way, you will be able to compare different perspectives on the same issue.

APPENDIX C10
GLOBAL HOT SPOTS



Interstate Wars
Post-1945

APPENDIX C10 GLOBAL HOT SPOTS



Data drawn from: Lawrence Freedman, Atlas of Global Strategy, pp. 52-53.



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APPENDIX D1

TEACHER SUGGESTIONS FOR USING JIGSAW STRATEGIES

Jigsaw I

Have you ever covered a topic or issue that neatly divided into three to five equally sized or balanced sub-topics or viewpoints? If so, the Jigsaw strategy won't be unfamiliar to you and you will already know it can be a very exciting way to cover material.

When using the Jigsaw, it is best to use a small Jigsaw first--one that can be completed in one period. Build to larger ones that may take anywhere from three or four days to a whole unit to complete.

Step 1: You set up Home Groups. Do not permit students to do this. These must be heterogeneous groups. Each group should have a range of student skill, learning styles and aptitudes within it. The number of students in this group will be dictated by the number of parts you have divided the study into. For example, if you are going to study four different theories of the cause of World War I, you will need groups of four.

Step 2: Assign one, different sub-topic or part of the study to each member of the Home Group. All students given the same sub-topic now form Expert Groups. For example, if you are studying four different theories of the cause of World War I, you will form four Expert Groups. Each group will contain members dealing with only one of the assigned theories. Each of these groups has the responsibility of researching its assigned topic. The Expert Group members will jointly decide what the key information is for their topic and how it should be taught to the Home Groups when they return to them.

Step 3: The experts return to their Home Groups and cross-teach what they know about their part of the study. It is usually best if they orally go over the material first before any of the other members of the group write down any notes. This permits the other group members time to ask questions and to clarify concepts.

Step 4: Once all the experts in each Home Group have completed their cross-teaching, all the members of each Home Group have all the "pieces of the puzzle." They are now ready to do something cooperative with their knowledge. This could be:

- i) a quiz or test on the material. The group will get an averaged mark of the test results (this creates a high incentive for effective cross-teaching);
- ii) write a joint position paper on the issue they have been studying in which they present their recommendations or solutions;

- iii) jointly develop and do an oral presentation on the study; or,
- iv) write an information pamphlet on the issue.

An Important Caution:

Be prepared for some groups to be less successful than others at first. Observe them carefully and try to avoid jumping in to save the process. Offer only directive questions and suggestions. After the strategy has been completed, debrief the group process by circulating a sheet with some of the questions below on it. This should be answered by the students individually at first. The groups then reconvene and compare their perceptions of how well the group functioned. They then set specific goals for future activities. These are shared with the class.

Some suggested debriefing questions (6 = high, 0 = not at all):

- i) The degree to which I stayed on task was ____.
- ii) The degree to which I encouraged others in the group was ____.
- iii) The degree to which I listened carefully to the ideas of others was ____.
- iv) The degree to which I accepted responsibility for completing the work I was given to do by the group was ____.
- v) Two things we might do that would improve the way our group operated would be: _____

(This scale approach can also be used to generate numerical marks for group participation if you deem such a measure important.)

Jigsaw II

This uses the same steps as Jigsaw I except, in this case, the Expert Groups all have the same research material (recall that in Jigsaw I, each Expert Group has different research material, giving them only one "piece of the puzzle.") For example, you could hand out the same controversial article to all students in the Home Group. Send the members of the Home Group off to Expert Groups. Ask each Expert Group to draft a response to the article. The experts return to their original Home Groups and share their reactions or viewpoint. This should bring four or five different perspectives to the issue into each Home Group. Two alternative strategies are then possible.

1. The Home Group members can react to the perspective of each of the experts. The experts can then return to their Expert Groups and report on the feedback they received to their ideas. The Expert Group then refines its viewpoint.
2. The Home Group wrestles with the differing viewpoints or perspectives provided by the experts and reaches a compromise position.

A variation of this approach is to assign different roles to each of the Expert Groups. For example, one Expert Group could react to the Chinese government's smashing of the student democracy movement in the spring of 1989 from the perspective of the Prime Minister, from that of the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Minister for International Trade, Canada's ambassador in Beijing and so forth.

APPENDIX D2

ANALYZING POLITICAL CARTOONS

Using political cartoons requires some skill. The following is a list of suggested questions that teachers should instruct students to ask about any political cartoon. Not all the questions would apply to every cartoon

- i) What do you see? (gathering facts about the cartoon)
 - *Is there a title or caption?
 - *What other objects, words or symbols seem to be important in the cartoon?
 - *What is the setting of the cartoon? Where and when does it take place? Is the setting based on real occurrences or something made up?
 - *What contrasts or comparisons are being made?

- ii) What do the facts mean? (analyzing the facts)
 - *What issue, event or theme is the cartoon depicting?
 - *Why do you think the cartoonist uses the title, caption, mood, objects, people, symbols, words, setting, comparison etc. that s/he does?
 - *What seems to be the cartoonist's personal view of the issue, event or theme? How do you know this? To what degree is the cartoonist's view positive or negative? What is the main message of the cartoon?

- iii) How do you react to the cartoon? (evaluating the cartoon)
 - *To what degree is the cartoon effective in getting across the main message?
 - *Assume you were the cartoonist: what could you have changed to make the cartoon more effective?
 - *Do you agree or disagree with the main message of the cartoon? Why?

Adapted from: Gerrard, Dennis. The Skills Book for History and Social Science (Second Edition). Scarborough: Scarborough Board of Education, 1984. Developed by the Scarborough Board of Education. Used with permission.

APPENDIX D3 STUDENT GLOSSARY

This *Handbook* suggests that students organize their learning around concepts rather than lists of discreet facts. The chart below (which is reproduced in full on the next page) enables them to collect the definitions they have learned during a unit.

Concept	Example in a Sentence	Definition
Foreign Policy	A significant aspect of Canadian foreign policy has been Canadian support for the United Nations.	Foreign policy is a plan of action developed by governments in order to deal with questions concerning international issues and relations.

Suggestions for use:

1. Students can be asked to complete the chart in the last 5-10 minutes of the lesson in which a new concept has been taught. The chart, therefore, becomes an on-going record of what has been learned. It also becomes a useful resource from which to review for formative (i.e. practice and application activities) or summative evaluations (tests).
2. At the completion of the unit, the teacher can hand out a blank version of the chart. The students are given a list of the key concepts taught in the unit. In pairs, they fill out the chart using their notes. Their answers are then compared with those of another pair and validated by the group. This group of four can be asked to cooperatively create a review instrument for the whole class using the results of their chart (eg. a multiple choice test, a crossword puzzle, or a word search).
3. If the list of concepts is particularly large, a group of three or four students can be put together. Each person in the group is given a few of the items on the list. Expert Groups are then formed. These fill out the chart for their assigned concepts. Members of the Expert Group return to their original groups and cross-teach the answers so that all members of the group have the same information in their chart. This can be followed by the sort of cooperative summative activity as described in 2. above, or the whole group might be given a quiz on the key concept. The marks of all members of the group could be averaged to give a group score.

APPENDIX D3
CONCEPT REVIEW CHART

NAME: _____ UNIT: _____

CONCEPT	EXAMPLE IN A SENTENCE	DEFINITION

APPENDIX D4 EVALUATION USING CONTRACTS

Deciding whether or not to use contracts

Advantages:

- *students are motivated by the idea that they can achieve high marks if they put in a defined degree of effort.
- *students feel that they have some measure of control over their learning.
- *some students like the feeling that they are learning independently with the teacher available as a guide.
- *contracts can be tailored to meet the needs of students with differing levels of ability.
- *teachers are freed from the task of teaching the entire class at the same time. The teacher can circulate to those students who need specific remedial attention while others proceed on their own.
- *contracts can be used flexibly either as an evaluation instrument or in lieu of a teacher-directed unit for the whole class or for selected students.
- *contracts are a change of pace for both the student and the teacher.

Disadvantages:

- *contracts can be time consuming if students do them during class time.
- *some students, who have greater ability, will contract at low levels, preferring to do the least amount of work possible.
- *depending on the nature of the contract, the marking load for the teacher can be quite heavy.
- *a rare student will not live up to the requirements of the contract and will have to accept a mark of "0". This can result in an angry call from a parent.
- *if the contract is done as a group, some group members may "freeload".
- *some students will finish the contract earlier than the teacher anticipated. They can become distracting to the other students who are still working on their contracts.

Dealing with the Disadvantages

Assuming that the teacher has decided to try a contract study with the class or with individual students, here are a few suggestions for dealing with the problems that can arise:

Dealing with the time factor:

- *Do consider using the contracts instead of a teacher-directed unit. This approach does not consume precious course time. Alternatively, use contracts for specific students who are capable of some degree of autonomous learning. While they are on contract, send these students to the school resource centre each day after they have checked in for attendance.

Encouraging students to try higher contracts:

*Encourage students to "contract up" whenever possible. This can be an ideal opportunity to have a one-to-one conference with the student about their perceptions of their worth and abilities.

*Making the contracts manageable and the criteria clear at each level will reduce some of the reluctance of students to attempt contracts at appropriate levels.

*The teacher might want to begin with a simple contract that merely requires the completion of a series of tasks rather than one that demands that the quality of work be evaluated.

*Do more than one contract during the course so that students who chose low contract levels will have other chances to choose a higher level.

Dealing with a failed contract:

*Explain the advantages of contracts to the parent or student (see above).

*Point out that the student knew what was expected and signed a contract to that effect. The teacher should have a copy of this contract available (the student should have the original). Be assertive about the fact that in the world outside of the school, contracts are generally binding. This exercise may teach the student a valuable lesson about the way relationships between people are sometimes structured.

Evaluating groups with "freeloaders":

*The freeloading student is a problem in any group endeavour. The trick is to get the members of the group to report honestly their contribution to the project. If the contract was done as a pair, the Group Contract Assignment Evaluation Form may be useful.

*With senior classes, the teacher could give a single mark to the entire group and then multiply it by the number of people in the group. Have the group meet and tell them that they have this total to divide in a fair manner that reflects the contributions of each of the group members. Get out of the way and let them work it out. This strategy is very successful with senior students but not with ones at the intermediate level.

What to do with the student that finishes early:

*Produce enrichment activity sheets based on the "Extension Activities" found throughout the Handbook. Keep a file of these for each of the units for which you are doing contracts. Inform the students that there is no free time and they must go and get an additional activity sheet from the file if they finish early. The student should keep completed enrichment activity sheets in their notebook or in a separate file folder that

the teacher keeps for each student. Once a term, the student may trade five (or any other number) of these activity sheets in to take the place of their worst test.

Beginning a Contract Study Unit

Day 1

*The teacher usually presents a motivational activity designed to introduce students to the concept that is under study. This usually involves the following sequence:

- a) Group problem-solving or experiential activity (see Motivational lessons in this Handbook).
- b) Debriefing and analysis of the experience.
- c) Teacher states why he/she personally thinks the experience/concept is important.
- d) A clear statement of the goals of the unit.

It may not be possible to introduce the concept itself on the first day of the unit. The start of the second day may have to be devoted to an activity that focuses the students' initial experience onto the concept(s) that are at the centre of the study (see the Developmental lessons in this Handbook).

Day 2

*The teacher hands out the following sheets:

- a) The sheet describing the contract expectations at various levels (eg. Sample Contract: Foreign Policy).
- b) The student contract form that explains the conditions of the contract (Student Contract Form).

*The teacher explains the student and teacher responsibilities contained in the contract:

- a) Students select the level at which they wish to work. In order to do contracts above the C level, the student must complete all preceding contracts. Thus, the contract is cumulative.
- b) Depending on the contract, the teacher may wish to allow group work at all contract levels or only at selected higher levels. They may contract up but not down. Students are encouraged to select the level that they are most comfortable with at first. If they are able to easily complete this contract, they should then "contract up" to the next level (although they do not have to do this, stress that it is in their best interests to do so). All contract changes must be negotiated with the teacher.
- c) Failure to meet the requirements at the selected level by the due date results in an automatic mark of "0".

- d) The teacher agrees automatically to award the mark for the contract that the student selected provided that the contract requirements have been met.

*Point out the location of any resources that the students would need for the various contracts. These are usually best kept in files in a box in the room.

*Students then select and begin work immediately on a contract level. The teacher circulates and discusses the students' choice of starting contract level and the final mark the student would like to get. The contract is then signed. The teacher takes the contract, makes a copy and returns the original to the student. The teacher keeps the copies in a safe place.

Day 3+

*Students continue to work on the contract. This is a flexible time--perhaps the greatest advantage of contracts. The teacher can send some students to the library or provide remedial attention to specific students who are having difficulty. The teacher can even do some micro-teaching to a small group of students who have a common skill deficit and are, therefore, finding their contracts difficult.

Last day of the contract study unit

*Have the students fill out an evaluation form that gets them to reflect on their contract experience. Conduct a discussion of the contract experience to allow students to voice their feelings about doing the contract work.

APPENDIX D4

STUDENT CONTRACT FORM

For accurately completing this contract(s) according to instructions, you will receive a mark as follows:

Contract	Mark
C	65 %
B	75 %
A	85 %
A+	95 %

It is possible to receive up to 5 extra marks for quality of work, at the teacher's discretion. It is also possible to lose 5 marks for what the teacher deems to be an unacceptable amount of spelling and/or grammar errors.

Any attempt to take credit for some else's work will result in a mark of "0" for both the user and the lender.

The contract is due on _____. There will be no extensions, and no excuses accepted.

* * * * *

I, _____, UNDERSTAND THE CONDITIONS OF THIS CONTRACT. I HAVE CHOSEN TO DO CONTRACT _____. I UNDERSTAND THAT FAILURE TO COMPLETE THIS CONTRACT WILL RESULT IN A MARK OF "0". I ALSO UNDERSTAND THAT I MAY NEGOTIATE A NEW CONTRACT AT A HIGHER LEVEL IF I AM ABLE TO COMPLETE THE REQUIREMENTS OF THIS CONTRACT BEFORE THE DUE DATE. I UNDERSTAND THAT I MAY NOT NEGOTIATE A LOWER CONTRACT.

Student: _____ Teacher: _____

Date: _____

APPENDIX D4

SAMPLE CONTRACT: FOREIGN POLICY

You are required to complete a series of activities at different contract levels. In order to get the A+ contract, you must complete all the preceding contracts as well (i.e. C, B and A). The same rule applies to any of the contracts above a C.

C CONTRACT - Do all of the following:

1. Read "Foreign Policy Goals" (Appendix #A11) and make neat notes in your notebook in which you identify:
 - a) the definition of the term "foreign policy".
 - b) six goals of foreign policy.
2. Accurately complete the exercise entitled "Is This or is This not a Foreign Policy Action" (Appendix #A8).
3. Accurately complete the exercise entitled "Identify the Goals of Foreign Policy" (Appendix #A13).
4. Read "Foreign Policy Instruments" (Appendix #A16) and make neat notes in your notebook in which you summarize the types of instruments (military and non-military) that countries can use to achieve their foreign policy goals.
5. Accurately complete the exercise entitled "Case Studies: Foreign Policy Instruments" (Appendices #A17).

AND

B CONTRACT - Do one of the following:

1. Collect four (4) newspaper articles that you think deal with Canadian foreign policy. Analyze the article by answering the following questions:
 - a) Who is involved in the story?
 - b) What is the main idea of the story?
 - c) What goal(s) of foreign policy are illustrated by the story? Explain your choice of answer.
 - d) What instrument(s) of foreign policy is Canada using to try to achieve its goal(s)?
 - e) What do you think about Canada's goals or actions in this case? Do you think they are wise or unwise? Why?

OR

2. Use the pictures in the collage in Appendix #A5). Choose four of the photographs that interest you. Assume that you witnessed the events in each of the photographs that you have selected. Given this role, answer the following questions:
 - a) What feelings or emotions do you have? Why?
 - b) What do you think happened before the picture was taken? After it was taken? (Use your imagination!) What leads you to these conclusions?
 - c) What would you like other people in the world to think about what is happening in this photograph? Why?
 - d) What, if anything, would you like other people in the world to do about the situation that is shown in the photograph? Why?

AND

A CONTRACT - Do one of the following:

1. Make a collage or mobile to illustrate your views of what foreign policy really means to a country.

OR

2. Design, write and act out an actual news report for a current issue or event in foreign policy. You may do your report on video or on audio tape to simulate a television or radio report. Your report should be a minimum of 3 minutes in length and a maximum of 5 minutes in length.

AND

A+ CONTRACT

1. Submit whatever you chose to do for your "A" Contract to evaluation by the rest of the class. This will involve your presentation of your work and a discussion of its strengths, interesting points and possible improvements.

APPENDIX D4 **GROUP CONTRACT ASSIGNMENT EVALUATION FORM**

[If you have students do contracts in pairs, you may wish to make use of this form as part of the evaluation.]

Name: _____ Partner: _____

Circle the one that best describes your opinion.

1. I thought we: a) worked very well together
 b) worked fairly well together
 c) didn't work well together
2. We shared the work: a) equally
 b) but one person did most of the work
3. I found my partner to be: a) cooperative and willing to work
 b) uncooperative but willing to work
 c) uncooperative and not willing to work
4. I believe I was: a) cooperative and willing to work
 b) uncooperative but willing to work
 c) uncooperative and not willing to work
5. I believe I did:

a) 100% of the work	d) 25% of the work
b) 75% of the work	e) 0% of the work
c) 50% of the work	
6. I think our project deserves:

a) top marks	b) good marks	c) fair marks
--------------	---------------	---------------

Explain: _____

Please note: Your evaluation form will be kept strictly confidential between you and the teacher. Please fill it out honestly.

"Student Centred Learning," General Level Project (Draft June 1986). Nepean: Carleton Board of Education, 1986. Used with permission.

APPENDIX D5 **ORAL PRESENTATION--STUDENT CHECKLIST**

Name: _____

Ask yourself the following questions and check them off when you complete them.

- _____ 1. Is there an introduction that clearly indicates the main question, hypothesis, theme or purpose of the presentation?
- _____ 2. Have you done enough research to present sufficient accurate, new and interesting information to support the presentation?
- _____ 3. Do you have several illustrations that can be used effectively to clarify your thoughts and make your presentation more interesting?
- _____ 4. Is there a logical order to your presentation?
- _____ 5. Do you have a summary that is clear and forceful, and raises new ideas or questions that spring from your presentation?
- _____ 6. Do you know your presentation well enough that you can teach it in your own words without reading it?
- _____ 7. Does everyone in the group have an important role in the presentation?
- _____ 8. Have you made your presentation relevant to your audience?
- _____ 9. Is the language of your presentation understandable to your audience and have you prepared explanations of difficult terms?
- _____ 10. Have you thought about how you will show enthusiasm, make everyone listen, maintain eye contact and use repetition effectively?

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APPENDIX D6

ORAL PRESENTATION OR SEMINAR EVALUATION

Topic: _____

Presenter(s): _____

Topic Clarity and Overall Organization: How clearly was the presentation introduced and summarized? Was the presentation well organized generally?

- ___ not clear in either the introduction or conclusion; confused
- ___ somewhat clear in one but not the other; some organization
- ___ somewhat clear in both; fairly well organized
- ___ clear in one and somewhat clear in the other; well organized
- ___ perfectly clear in both; very well organized

Content and Persuasiveness: Was the research and presentation of information accurate, new, interesting, and sufficient?

- ___ little or no research or presentation of information
- ___ some research and information, but not adequate
- ___ adequate research and information
- ___ very good research and information
- ___ excellent research and information

Illustrations: How varied and effective were they?

- ___ no effective illustrations
- ___ few illustrations ineffectively used
- ___ an adequate number of illustrations fairly effectively used
- ___ an adequate number of illustrations effectively used
- ___ many illustrations very effectively used

Audience Interest and Involvement: How captivating and relevant was the presentation?

- ___ boring and not involving (read notes, unenthusiastic, not clear)
- ___ somewhat interesting but not very involving
- ___ fairly interesting and somewhat involving
- ___ very interesting and involving for many people
- ___ fascinating and involving for most of the class

Class Notes: Were these a clear, concise and well organized outline?

- ☐ unclear, not enough detail, misses key ideas and is confused
- ☐ somewhat clear, too detailed and ideas missing, but fairly organized
- ☐ fairly clear, mainly sticks to key ideas and well organized
- ☐ very clear, very concise summary, and very well organized
- ☐ perfectly clear, excellent concise summary, and completely organized

Comments, Suggestions for Improvement and Overall Grade:

Reviewer: _____

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APPENDIX D7
DEBATE PREPARATION--STUDENT CHECKLIST

Name: _____

Ask yourself the following questions and check them off when you complete them.

- ___ 1. Is there an introduction that clearly and forcefully indicates the viewpoint of your debate?
- ___ 2. Have you done enough research to present sufficiently broadly based, and relevant information?
- ___ 3. Do you have enough clear and persuasive arguments?
- ___ 4. Do you have enough illustrations that can be used effectively to clarify and support your argument?
- ___ 5. Is your debate well organized?
- ___ 6. Do you have a summary that is clear and forceful, and raises a question that could cause the audience to doubt the opposite view?
- ___ 7. Do you know your arguments well enough that you can say them convincingly in your own words without reading them?
- ___ 8. Have you made your debate relevant to your audience?
- ___ 9. Is the language of your debate understandable to your audience and have you prepared explanations of difficult terms?
- ___ 10. Have you thought about how you will show enthusiasm, and confidence?

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APPENDIX D8 DEBATE EVALUATION

Topic: _____

Debater(s): _____

Debate Clarity: Was the viewpoint of the debater(s) clearly and forcefully introduced, and summarized in the conclusion?

- ___ not clear or strong in either
- ___ somewhat clear and forceful in one but not the other
- ___ somewhat clear and forceful in both
- ___ clear and vigorous in one and somewhat clear and vigorous in the other
- ___ perfectly clear and convincingly presented in both

Arguments: Were they persuasive, explained fully and clearly, and based on sound and sufficient research?

- ___ little or no effective arguments
- ___ some effective arguments, but not an adequate number
- ___ an adequate number of effective arguments
- ___ many very effective arguments
- ___ numerous excellent arguments

Illustrations: How effective were they in clarifying and supporting the arguments, and were they based on sound and sufficient research?

- ___ little or no good illustrations
- ___ a few ineffective illustrations
- ___ an adequate number of good illustrations
- ___ many very good illustrations
- ___ numerous excellent illustrations

Rebuttal: How well were the arguments of the other side questioned, shown to be weak, or disproven?

- ___ little or no good counter arguments
- ___ a few fair counter arguments
- ___ an adequate number of good counter arguments
- ___ many very good counter arguments
- ___ numerous excellent counter arguments

Organization: How well organized was the debate structure?

- ☐ confused
- ☐ a little organization could be seen
- ☐ fairly well organized
- ☐ well organized
- ☐ very well organized

Enthusiasm and Confidence: How much enthusiasm and confidence was shown?

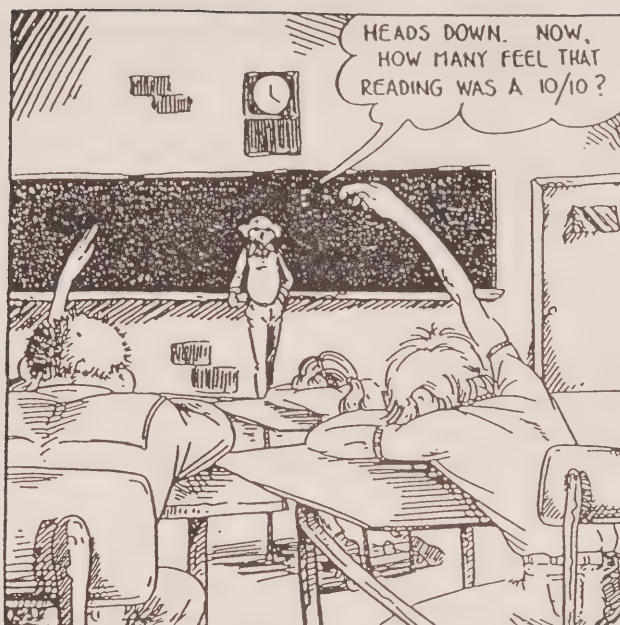
- ☐ little or none
- ☐ some
- ☐ an adequate degree of both
- ☐ very good enthusiasm and confidence
- ☐ excellent enthusiasm and confidence

Comments, Suggestions for Improvement and Overall Grade:

Reviewer: _____

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APPENDIX D9 PEER EVALUATION



The evaluation technique illustrated in the cartoon shows a simple method which eliminates the pressure inherent in this type of evaluation.

Try evaluation by committee. Ask for volunteers who will join you after school to mark projects. Clearly define your criteria for evaluation before you begin.

Try this time saver. Each student has 3 written votes and is told to select the 3 presentations or projects which best fulfilled criteria for evaluation. Tabulate the results and decide on a grading scale. You may have to do this twice, the second vote will include those presentations which may not have been selected the first time. You may want to ask for evaluation orally. It saves even more time but is pretty hard on their egos.

"Alternative Approaches to Evaluation," General Level Project (Draft June 1986).
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APPENDIX D10

TIPS ON LETTER WRITING

Writing letters can be a useful way to gather information from organizations and can also be an interesting introduction into the way organizations and bureaucracies respond to the public. Here are some tips which should improve the chances of your letter writing being successful:

1. Allow yourself at least two weeks from the time you write your letter to the time you need the information. Remember, your letter and the response will often spend more than a week in the postal system alone!
2. Be sure you have the correct address and postal code for the organization or person you are writing to.
3. If you are writing to a large organization or government department, you should consult with your local library to see if they have any directories which list such organizations. Such directories might include names to whom you should write when making a public inquiry. This will move your letter more quickly through the system.
4. Your name, address and date of writing should appear on the letter itself. Big organizations have their mail centrally opened and distributed so if your address is on your envelope only, there is a good chance that the envelope will get thrown out immediately, leaving the reader of your letter with no idea of where you live!
5. In your letter, explain that you are writing as part of a school project. You should also explain that you have to present your results by a particular date. This gives the reader of your letter an idea of how quickly s/he must respond.
6. Try to express as clearly and precisely as possible what sort of information you are seeking. Vague questions are sure to result in vague answers. Don't expect the organization you are writing to do all your research for you (they won't appreciate this!) Know something about your topic ahead of time so you can ask for the most useful information possible.
7. A typewritten letter is always appreciated. If you don't have a typewriter, print neatly. Always be polite in your letters.

APPENDIX D11

RESEARCHING A PROJECT ON A PEACE AND SECURITY TOPIC: GETTING STARTED!

1. With the help of your teacher, get a few ideas about what kind of topic you would like to write about. Once you have some ideas you and your teacher are satisfied with, begin your research at your school library. After you have done what you can with the resources at your school library, you should also go to your local public library.
2. The librarian is there to help you find what you are looking for, suggest the best sources of information, and show you how to use library tools. Don't hesitate to ask for some assistance. That's the librarian's job.
3. To help find out what might be involved in your chosen topic, start by reading articles on your topic in an encyclopedia. This will give you an idea about whether or not your approach to the topic is too broad or too narrow. For example, if you decide to write an essay on "peace", you will find that this topic is very broad and is often discussed from more narrow perspectives, for example, religious approaches to peace, political approaches to peace and so on. You may then want to change the scope of your project.

Another advantage of starting your research with an encyclopedia is that encyclopedia articles often include a list at the end of the article which suggests other articles and subjects you might look up.

4. Once you have settled on a topic, you can begin researching it:

How to find Books:

Every library keeps a catalogue in which all its books are arranged alphabetically, usually by author, title or subject. Once you have located the books you want, note their call numbers. These numbers tell you where to find the books on the shelves. If you wish to borrow the book, check it out at the circulation desk in the library. If there is a book you know of, but cannot find it in the catalogue, ask the librarian for assistance.

If you cannot find the book on the shelf, ask the librarian. Someone else may have borrowed it, and the librarian will put your name on a list to reserve the book for you when it comes back.

In addition to using the information in the text of the book, check to see if the book has a bibliography. The bibliography is the list of books and articles the author used to write the book you are reading. Using this list, you can see if there are any items in the bibliography which you think might be useful for your work too.

Magazine Articles:

Magazine articles can be a good source of current information and by reading articles from several magazines and writers, you can get several points of view on an issue.

Magazine articles are listed in a periodical index. For example, the Canadian Periodical Index lists articles published in Canadian magazines. There are other indexes as well, and the librarian can tell you which ones the library carries and how to use them. Periodical indexes are often kept in the reference section of the library.

Once you have found the articles you want, write down the reference or citation. For example, if you were looking for "submarine" in the July/August 1989 issue of the Canadian Periodical Index, you will see under the subtitle "accidents" that there is an article on Soviet submarines on p. 37 of the July 10, 1989 edition of Time magazine. You should then find out from the librarian where the magazine Time is kept.

Be aware that not all libraries carry all the magazines that might be indexed in a periodical index. Before you start looking for magazine articles, you should ask the librarian which magazines the library carries.

How to find Newspapers

Newspapers are the most up-to-date source of information you could make use of. They can be a useful source of detailed information, but magazines and books are better in providing background. Speak to the librarian about what indexes the library has for newspapers.

The library will probably have the original paper copies of the most recent newspapers. Older copies, however, may be on microfilm which can be viewed by a film reader machine. If you ask the librarian s/he can make a paper copy of any of the pages you view on the microfilm. But first, you will need to speak to him/her to find out which newspapers the library carries, and where the microfilms of newspapers and the film readers are to be found.

How to find Government Documents

Government documents are documents published by the various levels of government, and their agencies. Sometimes, the government will commission a study on a particular subject, and this can be a useful resource to someone writing on that subject.

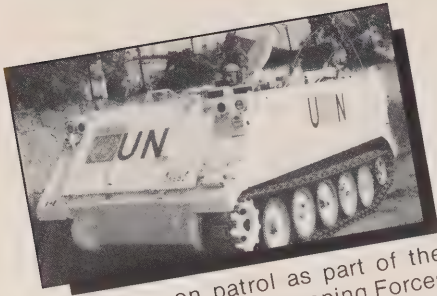
However, government documents are often hard to find in the library and are overly wordy. By using books, magazines, and newspapers, you should be able to get by without them.

How to find Audio-Visual Materials

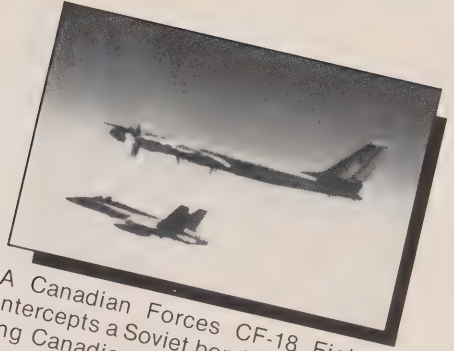
Some libraries list audio-visual materials in the card catalogue, while others maintain separate listings. Some may have a special section of the library set aside exclusively for the use of audio-visual materials. It is best to ask the librarian.

EXTRA PHOTO COLLAGES FOR GROUP WORK

APPENDIX A5



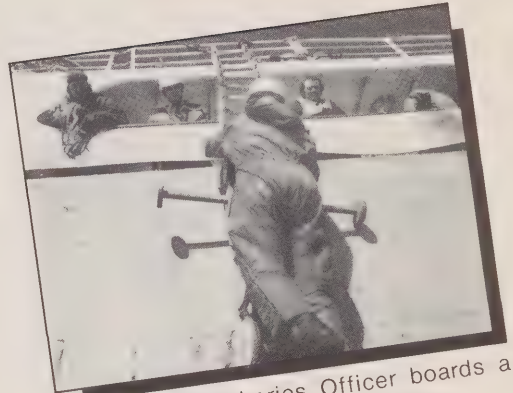
Canadians on patrol as part of the United Nations Peacekeeping Forces in Cyprus.



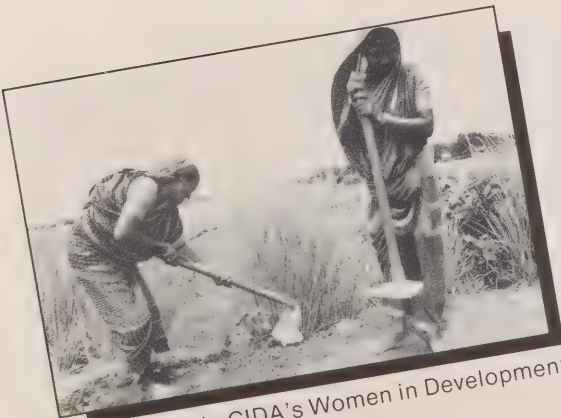
A Canadian Forces CF-18 Fighter intercepts a Soviet bomber approaching Canadian airspace.



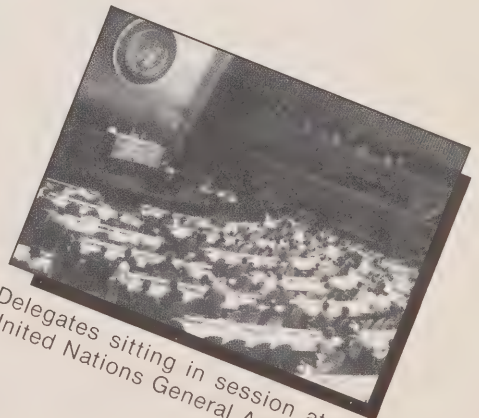
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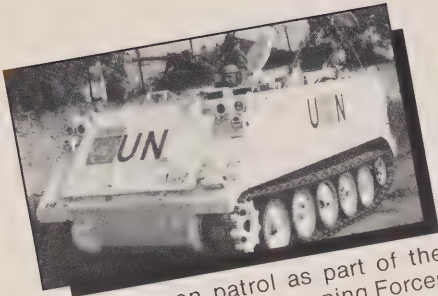
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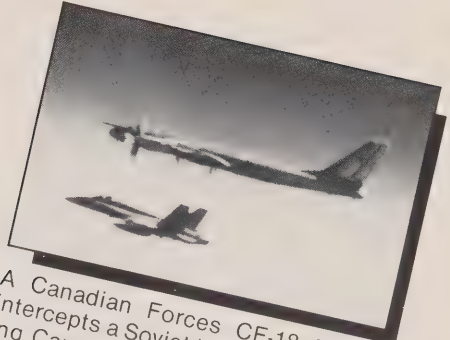
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FISHERY OFFICER: Communications Directorate, Department of Fisheries & Oceans

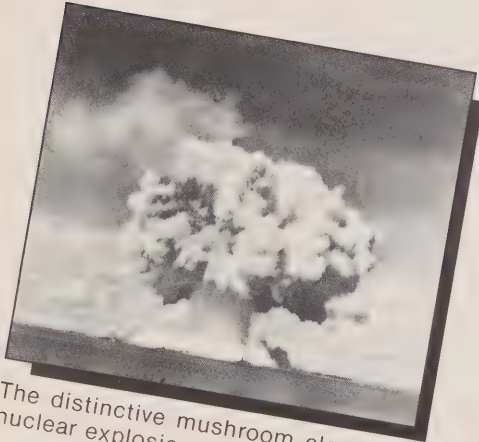
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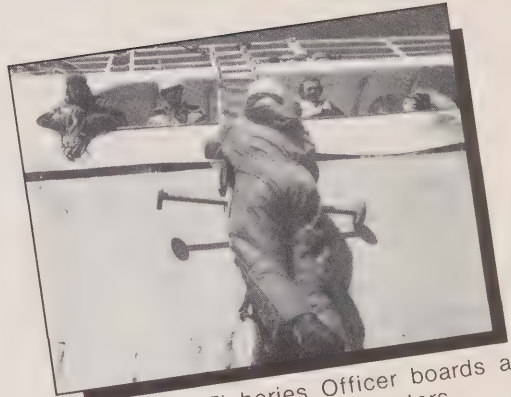
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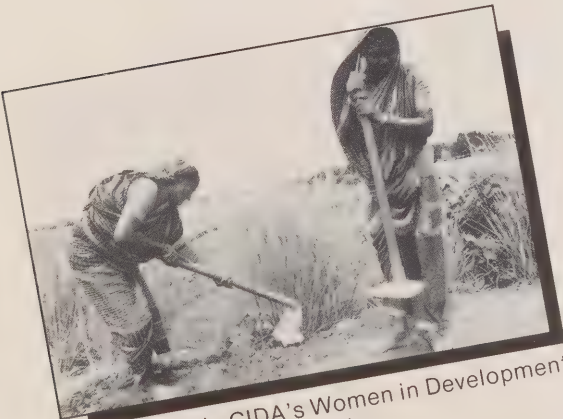
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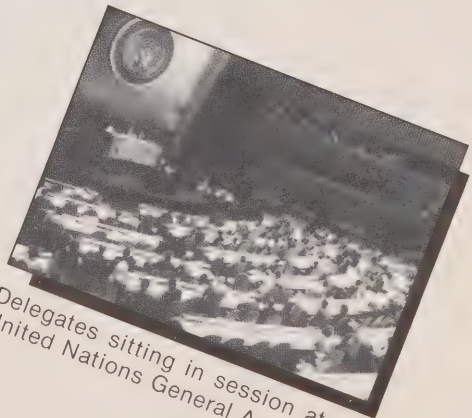
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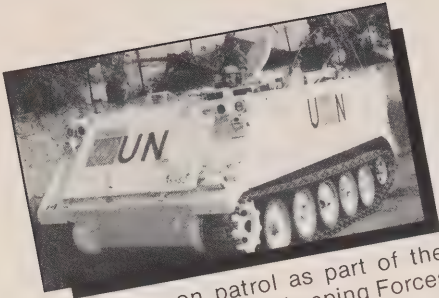
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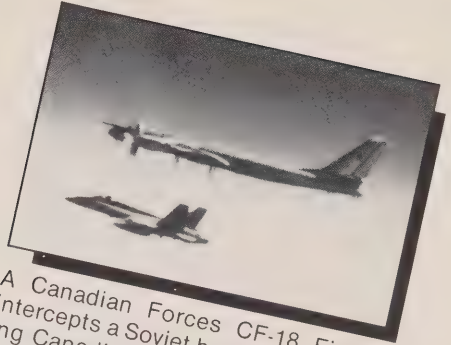
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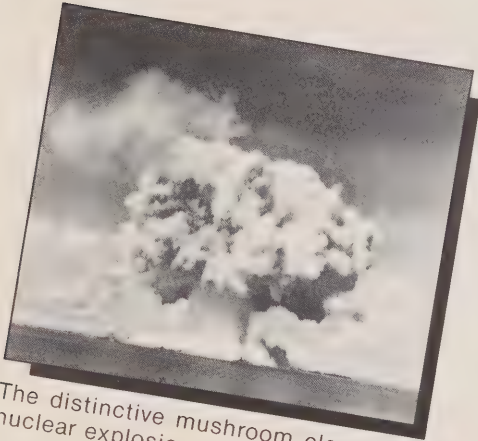
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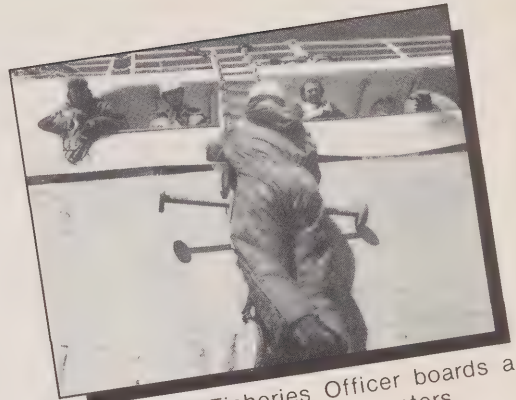
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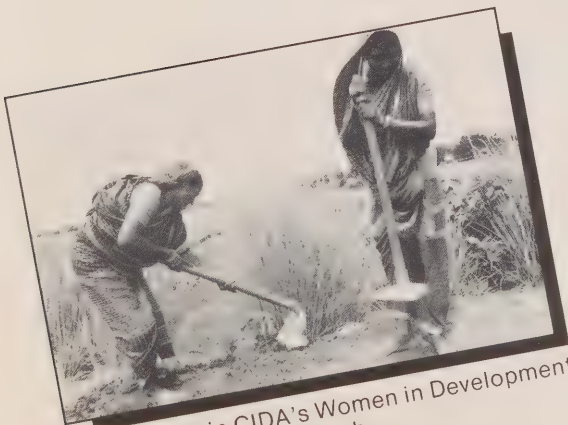
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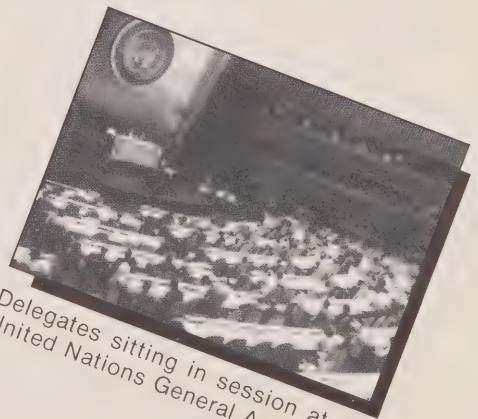
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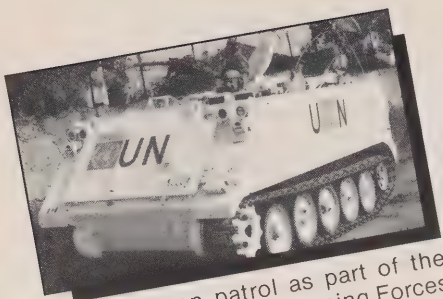
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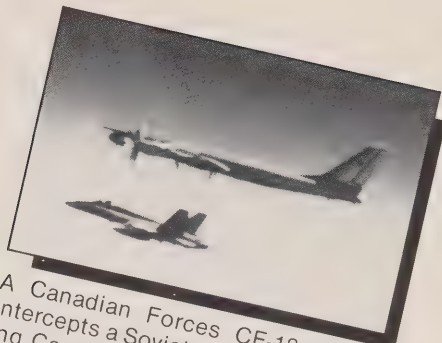
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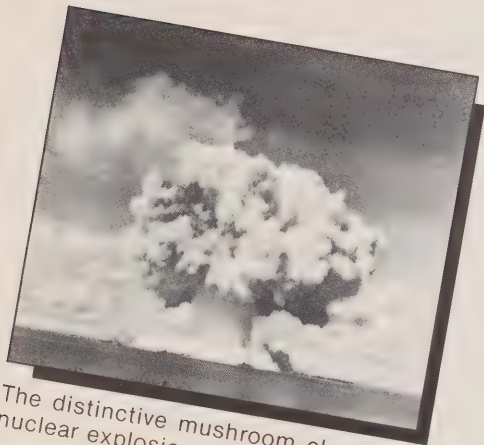
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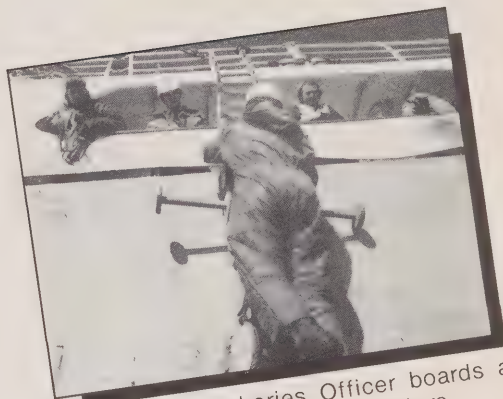
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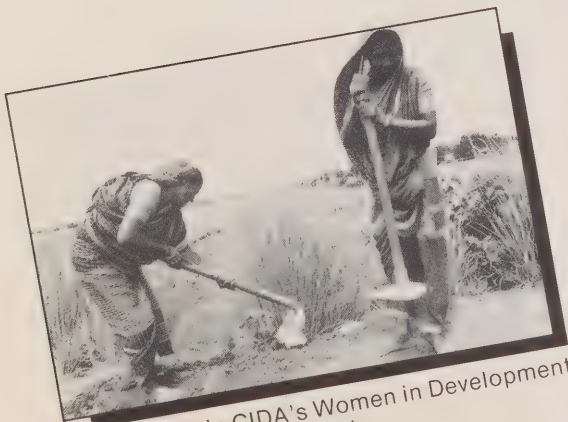
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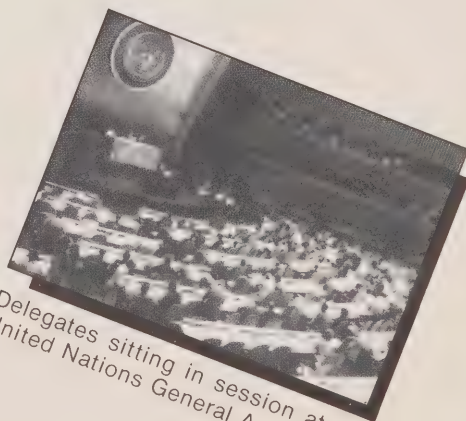
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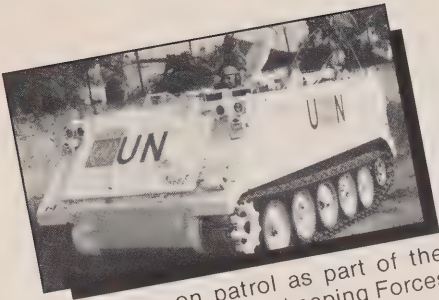
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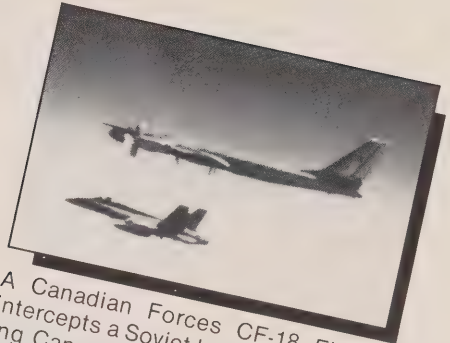
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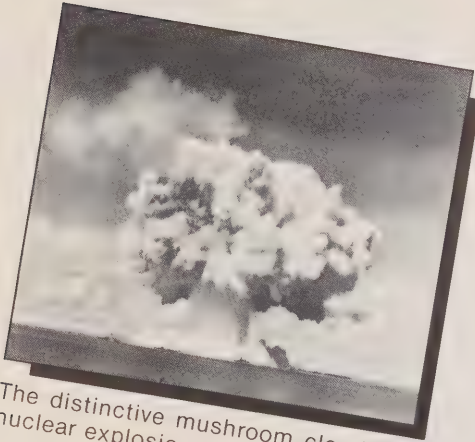
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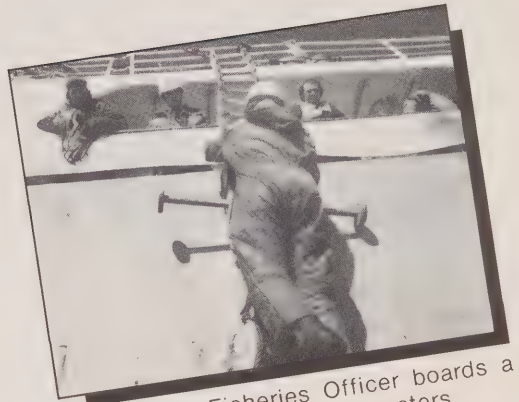
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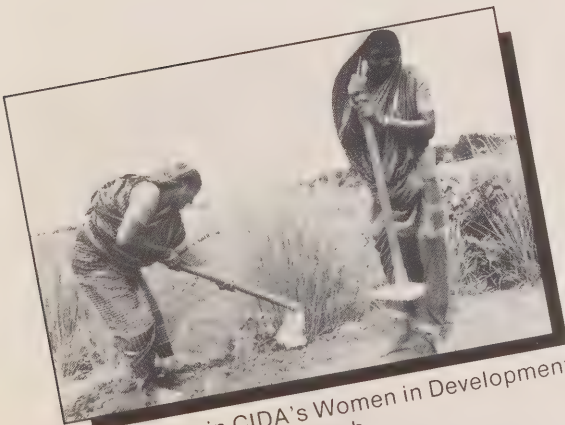
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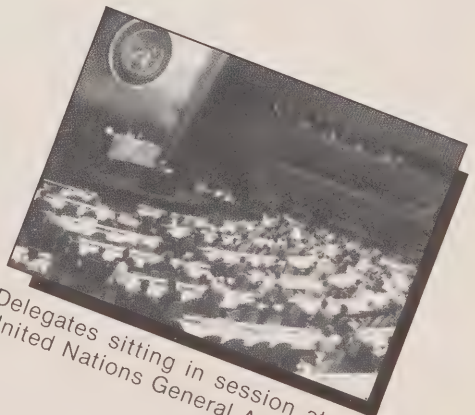
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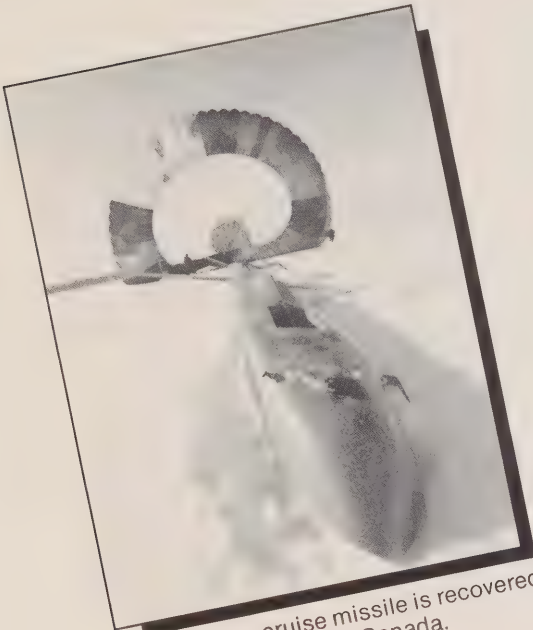
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El Salvador's military accused over killings



An American cruise missile is recovered
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Acid rain slowly destroys Canadian forests.

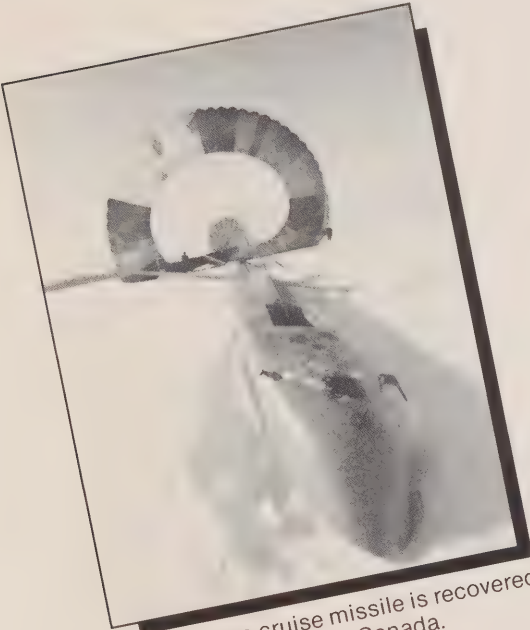
Major issues divide superpowers on pact to cut nuclear arsenals

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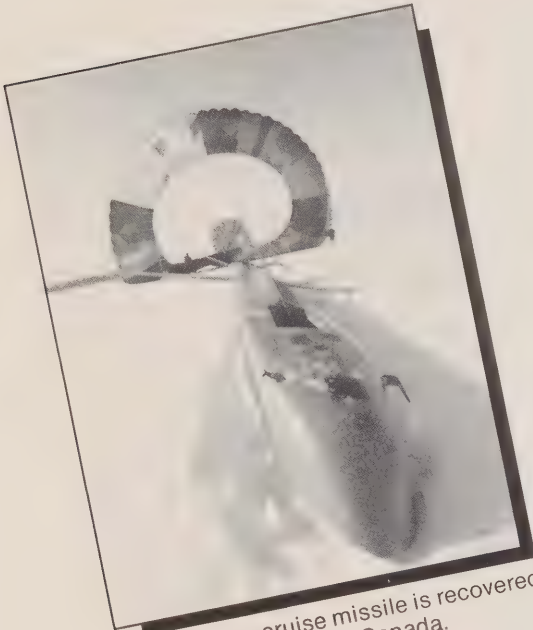
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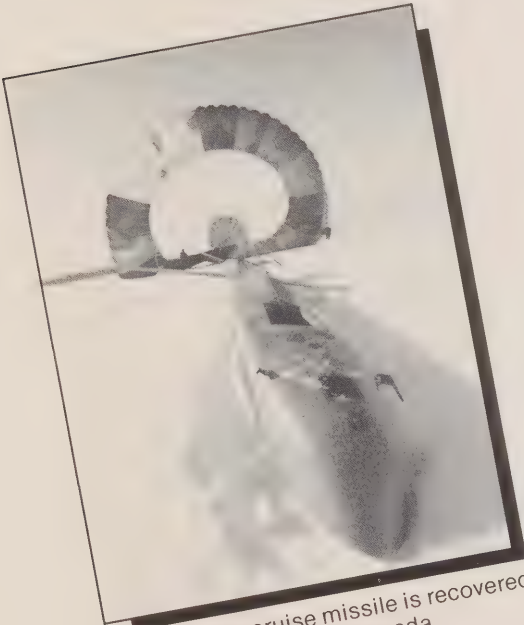
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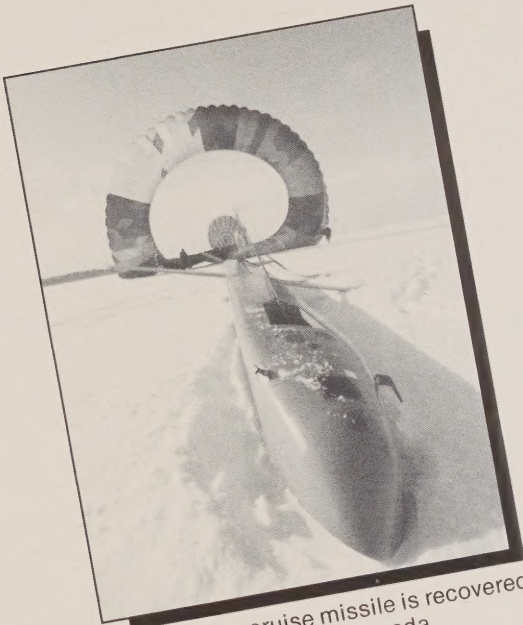
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